

Chapter Three

PREMONSTRATENSIAN RITE

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE ORDER

ST. NORBERT, the founder of the Order, was born at Xanten in Germany about the year 1080, and at an early age was admitted to a canonry in the collegiate church of St. Victor in his native city. In 1115 he felt himself called to lead a more perfect way of life, and Norbert resolved to give himself up to an apostolate of itinerant preaching. He obtained the approbation of Pope Gelasius II (1118-19) at St. Gilles in 1118, which was confirmed in the following year by his successor Callixtus II (1119-24) at the council of Rheims. Norbert by this time had gathered a number of disciples, and, through the instrumentality of Bartholomew de Vir, bishop of Laon, a site for the foundation of a religious house was given him in 1120 at Prémontré, twelve miles west of the cathedral city, in a valley between the rivers Oise and Arlette. The name Prémontré (*praemonstratus, pratum monstratum*) was probably derived from a clearing in the wood, but 'edification' called for a less prosaic interpretation, and alleged that it came rather from *locus praemonstratus*, 'a place foreshown', as we read in the life of St. Godfrey, one of St. Norbert's first disciples (1127): *Venit ad locum vere juxta nomen suum, a Domino praemonstratum, electum et praedestinatum*.¹ A similar spirit was at work in ascribing the white habit to an apparition of the Blessed Virgin to the founder, when the Mother of God is reputed to have said: *Fili, accipe candidam vestem*.² There seems little reason to doubt that the primitive habit was of unbleached wool, which would have required a number of washings before it

¹ *Acta Sanc.*, 13 January. Antwerp, 1643.

² J. Lepaige, *Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis*, cap. XI, Paris, 1633.

became white. The Order may be described as monastico-canonical, being at the same time both contemplative and active, with a rule which was largely that of St. Augustine. 'In its genesis,' says David Knowles, 'the constitution of the White canons was eclectic, reflecting alike Norbert's own bent, his admiration for Clairvaux and the contemporary spirit of simplicity and poverty. To preaching and spiritual ministration were joined a certain amount of manual work and a more severe observance than was customary in the general run of Augustinian houses; the Order was strictly organized from the start on Cistercian lines, with Prémontré as the mother-house.'¹ Certain similarities are evident in the liturgies of the White canons and the White monks. In 1142, a fraternal pact of peace and charity was drawn up by the two Orders.²

The central idea of St. Norbert was, as Anselm of Havelberg (*ob.* 1158) says, 'the perfection of the apostolic life'.³ This conception, however, came to be substantially modified under Blessed Hugh of Fosses (*ob.* c. 1164), the successor of St. Norbert at Prémontré, and the active apostolate almost disappeared in favour of the cloistered and contemplative life. Later we find the canons in possession of churches, although this had been forbidden by the early statutes of Prémontré: *Non accipiemus altare nisi posset esse abbatia*.⁴

Germany, however, as we shall see, was an exception during the 12th and 13th centuries, but the foundation of St. Norbert in Magdeburg, which became the centre of Premonstratensian influence in middle Europe, depended from the archbishop rather than from Prémontré. The missionary activities of the White canons in Northern Europe were quite outstanding, and 'there is no second example in the long history of the Church during the Middle Ages of any religious order having completed the conversion of a whole country, such as the Premonstratensians

¹ Knowles, *Monastic Order in England* (London, 1940), chap. XI, p. 205.

² *Stat. Capit. Gen. Ord. Cist.*, edit. J. M. Canivez, t. I (Louvain, 1933), pp. 35-7.

³ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXXVIII, col. 1247.

⁴ R. van Waefelghem, *Les premiers statuts de Prémontré* (c. 1140), ap. *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, IX (1913), p. 45.

did in *Wendenland*'.¹ A similar tendency for active work existed also in south Germany, but here it was less organised and more closely subject to Prémontré.²

When in the 18th century the ancient Orders felt it necessary to offer some justification for their continued existence, the White canons gave the five following characteristics of their life: *Laudes Dei in choro; Cultus eucharisticus; Cultus marialis; Spiritu jugis paenitentiae; Zelus animarum*.

The Eucharistic cult received its impetus from the work of St. Norbert in crushing the heresy of Tanchelin³ in Flanders, which he undertook at the request of Burchard, bishop of Cambrai, in 1124.⁴ A feast (Triumph of St. Norbert), commemorating the success of the undertaking, is celebrated on the day following the solemnity of the Sacred Heart (triple of the second class).⁵ It was formerly observed on the Third Sunday after Pentecost, but it is not found in the breviaries of 1741 and 1846.

Tradition has ascribed an office to St. Norbert in which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception⁶ is expressed, but his authorship is improbable, and the dogma does not appear to have been taught in the Order till the middle of the following century.⁷

The original plan of St. Norbert seems to have envisaged double houses—canons and nuns—but the general chapter of 1135 directed that henceforward the two sexes were to be in separate establishments.⁸ A convent of nuns had been founded in the valley of Prémontré as early as 1122.

Apostolic approbation was given to the Order in 1124, and

¹ Franz Winter, *Die Prämonstratenser des 12 Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1865), p. 31.

² François Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1947), chap. III, p. 52.

³ Tanchelin himself had died in 1115, but his heresy was by no means dead.

⁴ The bishop, as a reward for his achievement, gave the church of St. Michael in Antwerp to St. Norbert and his canons. The abbey that sprang up became one of the first houses of the Order, but nothing remains today, either of the church or of the conventual buildings. A statue of St. Norbert holding a monstrance may be seen in the south aisle chapel of the cathedral church at Antwerp.

⁵ The general chapter of 1947, which abolished the titles of 'major' and 'minor', changed the rite of the feast from a triple major of the third class.

⁶ *Ave, Virgo quae Spiritu Sancto praeservante, de tanto primi parentis peccato triumphasti innoxia.*

⁷ François Petit, op. cit., chap. VIII, p. 255.

⁸ Ibid., chap. III, p. 51.

two years later St. Norbert received a confirmatory bull from Honorius II (1124-30). In the same year also the Saint was appointed archbishop of Magdeburg, where he confided six parishes in the city and fourteen others in the neighbourhood to the care of the White canons.¹ St. Norbert remained at Magdeburg till his death on 6 June 1134, but it was not before 1582 that the saintly founder was officially canonised² by Gregory XIII (1572-85), although we find his name in the calendar of the missal of 1578 under 6 June, the date of the original feast. A principal feast on 11 July was approved by Urban VIII (1623-44) in 1625, which has been raised to the rank of a triple of the first class with a common octave.

The body of St. Norbert was translated from Magdeburg to the abbey of Strahov in Prague in 1627. With his active apostolate, the Saint can hardly be described as abbot of Prémontré, and the first abbot was rather Blessed Hugh of Fosses, who governed the Order till his death on 10 February 1161.

The *Primarii ordinis patres*, holding a position analogous to the four 'first fathers' in the Cistercian Order, were the abbots of St. Martin at Laon, Floreffe and Cuissy: the prior, subprior and circator of the Order respectively.

The success of the White canons was almost as remarkable as that of the White monks, and nearly one hundred abbots attended the first general chapter in 1130. The chapter became an annual event in 1135, when a special section was added to the statutes: *De annuo colloquio*. Until some time after 1458 it was held on the feast of St. Denis (9 October),³ when the date was changed to the Fourth Sunday after Easter. War between France and England created difficulties, and the English kings not only prohibited the payment of subsidies to Prémontré by the houses in their kingdom, but also forbade the attendance of abbots at the general

¹ E. de Moreau, *Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique*, t. III (Brussels, 1945), liv. V, chap. II, 3, p. 452.

² The earliest known representation of the Saint, with a halo, is to be found on the wall of the sacristy in the church of SS. Severus and Martirius near Orvieto. It dates from the 14th century. Norbert Backmund, *Monast. Praemonstr.*, t. I (Straubing, 1949), p. 386, n. 17.

³ Martène, *De Ant. Eccles. Rit.*, t. III, col. 920 C.

chapter. A national chapter was permitted by the abbot of Prémontré in 1316.¹

A catalogue, compiled by a religious of the abbey of Parc near Louvain, gives a total of seven hundred and thirty houses² of the Order, but the estimate of Fr. Norbert Backmund—'nearly six hundred and fifty'—is probably more accurate.³

If we may believe an American religious of the Order, Soulseat in Galloway (Scotland) was founded as early as 1125,⁴ but between 1148 and 1153 is nearer the mark.⁵ Newhouse (Lincs), the first abbey in England, was established in 1143: a daughter of Licques in the Pas de Calais, and grand-daughter of St. Martin, Laon. The other houses in the country, with the exception of Bradsole and Bayham which were colonised directly from Prémontré, owed their existence either directly or by descent from Newhouse. Talley (Carmarthenshire), the solitary house of the Order in Wales, was founded from St. John, Amiens, between 1193 and 1197. The peak years in England were between 1170 and 1216, but, as in France, the houses never developed a very strong missionary character, and resembled rather those of the Cistercians, although we find the White canons officiating at an early date in parish churches.

In the 13th century two Englishmen occupied the position of abbot of Prémontré: Gervase⁶ (1209–20), who was nominated bishop of Séz in 1220, and William (1233–36), a former abbot of Stanley Park (Dale) in Derbyshire, who has been described as *vir totius prudentiae*, but who for all his 'prudence' was forced to resign in 1236.⁷

The cathedral priory of Whithorn (Candida Casa) in Galloway was given to the Order in 1177, but, with two exceptions, the

¹ In 1466, Richard Redman was appointed by Simon de la Terrière, abbot of Prémontré, to act as commissary and visitor in England. Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Praemonstratensia*. Royal Historical Society, 1904, 1906.

² Raphael Van Waefelghem, *Répertoire . . . des monastères de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, Brussels, 1930.

³ Norbert Backmund, 'Premonstratensian Order in Scotland', *Innes Review*, 1953, p. 2.

⁴ Kirkfleet, *White Canons of St. Norbert*, part 3, p. 178.

⁵ Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, t. II, p. 109.

⁶ Gervase assisted at the fourth council of the Lateran in 1215.

⁷ He retired to the abbey of Bayham in Sussex, where he died.

bishops were never chosen from among the White canons.¹ The constitutions seem to have been modelled on those of Boerglum in Denmark.² Premonstratensians formed also the chapters at Ratzeburg (Schleswig Holstein) in 1154, Boerglum (Denmark) in 1176, Riga (Livonia) 1212, and Litomysl (Bohemia) in 1343; while no less than thirty-two members of the Order occupied the see of Brandenburg between the years 1130 and 1560, and twenty-five that of Havelberg between 1129 and 1548.³

The first constitutions of the Order, which were in four parts, appeared about 1128, the work of Hugh of Fosses. The fourth part concerned the general administration and liturgical uniformity, especially in respect to the service books.⁴ In 1290, as a result of the bulls of Innocent IV (1245) and Alexander IV (1256), the constitutions were revised by the abbot of Prémontré, William de Louvignies.⁵ A third edition, abrogating all the previous constitutions, was published as an outcome of the bulls of Alexander VI (1502) and Julius II (1503) in 1505.⁶

Legislation, however, proved powerless to check decadence and decline, and measures of reform were initiated by John Despruets (1572-96) and continued by his successors. The general chapter of 1630 authorised the constitutions which are observed in substance today.

The decadence in the French houses was encouraged by the 'leprosy of the monastic state', as the rule of commendatory abbots has been called,⁷ and by 1770 no less than sixty-seven out of the ninety-two abbeys and priories were *in commendam*.⁸ Prémontré herself escaped with but three commendatory abbots.⁹

A reform of the Order was effected in Spain (1570-73), and another through the efforts of Abbot Lairvelz at the beginning of

¹ Backmund, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 114.

² *Ibid.*

³ Kirkfleet, *op. cit.*, chap. I, p. 12.

⁴ *Primaria Instituta canonum Praemonstrat.*; ap. Martène, *De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.*, t. III (Venice, 1783), append., dist. IV, p. 321. Cf. Munich MS. 17. 174.

⁵ *Primaria Praemonstratensis Ordinis*.

⁶ *Statuta seu novae Constitutiones*.

⁷ Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. I (London, 1896), Introd., chap. VII, p. 103. Cf. Martène, *Voyage Littéraire*, part II, p. 147.

⁸ Taïe, *Etudes sur Prémontré*, vol. II (Laon, 1874), p. 195.

⁹ Cardinal Francis of Pisa (1535-62); Hippolytus d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara (1562-72) and Cardinal Richelieu (1643).

the 17th century. This second reform, which was especially strong in Lorraine, and was followed by about forty abbeys, seems to have been chiefly concerned with abstinence from flesh meat.¹ France had ninety-two abbeys and more than six hundred benefices in 1789, but by a stroke of the pen they all disappeared in the following year. John Baptist l'Ecuy, sixty-second and last abbot-general, survived until 1834.² The Order was revived in France by a national Congregation in 1858, which was united with the rest of the Order in 1896. Today there are four circaries—Brabant, France, Bohemia and Austria-Hungary, with several houses which depend directly on the abbot-general, who resides in Rome.³ New statutes were promulgated by the general chapter of 1947.

A word must be said concerning the term 'circulary', which is peculiar to the White canons. The definite division of the Order into circaries dates from the general chapter of 1290, and in 1320, according to an official catalogue compiled by Lepaige, there were no less than thirty such divisions, supervised later by a vicar-general. The term has been defined by Lairvelz: *a circumeundo vocatur circaria*.⁴ England in the Middle Ages had three circaries—North England and Scotland with thirteen houses; Middle England with thirteen; and South England with eleven.

Schools existed in some of the houses from the early days of the Order, and we find them in the 12th century at Cappenberg (1122) and Steinfeld (1121 or 1124). Later, higher studies were established, and a *Collegium Norbertinum* was founded at Paris in 1252. Colleges were attached also to the universities of Louvain (1571), Salamanca (1578), Cologne (1617), Rome (1618), Prague (1628), and Cracow (before 1674).

ARCHITECTURE

It has been suggested to the writer that the Premonstratensians in the 13th century and again in the 17th produced a distinctive style of architecture, but it is difficult to substantiate such a claim.

¹ Cf. Cistercian Order and Armand de Rancé.

² John Baptist l'Ecuy died canon of Paris.

³ E.g. United States.

⁴ *Optica*, p. 697. *Circumire*, 'to go round', 'to make the rounds'.

In the early days of the Order church architecture borrowed largely from the Cistercians. 'The close connection of Norbert with St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the great influence which the latter exercised over the foundation of Norbert's Order is reflected in certain Cistercian characteristics in Premonstratensian building; in fact all the peculiarities observable in the conventual planning of the younger Order are borrowed from the Cistercians, and are amply sufficient to differentiate the early French houses from the contemporary Benedictine and Cluniac buildings.'¹ 'The earliest churches built under St. Norbert', continues Mr. Clapham, 'appear to have been all of a temporary nature and to have been a similar type of structure to those raised at Clairvaux and Pontigny by the first Cistercians':² *Ad morem et mediocritatem aedificandi ecclesiam, quibus utuntur canonici ejusdem (Praemonstratensis) ordinis.*³ New churches sprang up everywhere, but little remains today of the 12th-century buildings of the *Primarii ordinis patres*. The church of Prémontré has disappeared, and what survives of the conventual buildings dates from the 18th century.⁴ St. Martin at Laon has been more fortunate, and the church, although partially burned in 1944, is a fine transitional building (1144-50), with two 13th-century towers unusually placed at the junction of the nave and transepts. Floreffe, with the exception of a late romanesque transept (1188-1250), was entirely transformed in the 18th century, while Cuissy was rebuilt in 1746. The 12th-century churches were for the most part of the normal Cistercian type, with a square east end, no structural tower, and square-ended chapels in the transepts divided with solid walls,⁵ which, as in Cistercian houses, gave way in the 13th century to open arches with screens between the chapels. The aisleless nave, common in the English abbeys, was comparatively

¹ 'Architecture of the Premonstratensians.' A. W. Clapham, *Archeologia*, vol. LXXIII (1923), VI, p. 120.

² Ibid.

³ Cf. *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, edit. Stubbs, II, 512.

⁴ The ruins of a 12th-century oratory, dedicated to St. John Baptist, which before the foundation of Prémontré was served by the monks of St. Vincent, Laon, may still be seen outside the precincts of the abbey.

⁵ Two such chapels exist today in either transept in the church of St. Martin at Laon.

rare on the continent,¹ and it had been abandoned almost everywhere by the White monks, who used the nave as a choir for the *conversi*. The later churches of the Order showed but little Cistercian influence, and the form of east end had as little uniformity as the contemporary buildings of other Orders. One of the most imposing monuments of the White canons which survives is the abbey of Bellapais (Episcopia) in Cyprus, founded by the royal house of Lusignan in 1267 or 1269. The church, which dates from the 13th century, is now in the hands of the Greek dissidents. The churches of the English houses were of a simple character: often cruciform in plan, with a chapel east of the transept.² A single aisle was sometimes built on the side opposite to the cloister,³ and the two-aisled nave was a rebuilding of the 14th or 15th century, when a bell-tower was often added.⁴ The lady chapels, unlike those of the Benedictines and Augustinians, rarely exceeded in size or importance the other chapels. Towers, as in other religious orders, were generally late additions to the original buildings.⁵ At Floreffe, a tower was built over the south transept in the 16th century, and at Tongerlo, Averbode and Antwerp (St. Michael) it was added to the east of the north transept. Postel was not provided with a tower till the 18th century.⁶ The earliest addition of a tower to a church of the Order in England seems to have been at Blancheland in Northumberland in the 13th century, where it was added at the end of the north transept.

Most of the churches were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, but there was no definite ruling, as we find among the Cistercians, and unusual dedications to French saints are found at Newhouse (St. Martial) and Bradsole (St. Radegunde).

¹ Continental examples existed at St. Just en Chaussée (near Beauvais), St. Cruz de Rivas (Spain), Tüchelhausen (near Würzburg), and St. Samuel (near Jerusalem).

² E.g. Bayham, Titchfield, Bradsole, Cockersand and Egglestone.

³ E.g. Shap, Torre, Dale (Stanley Park).

⁴ E.g. Coverham (14th century), Leiston (15th century). Some few churches were planned from the first on a larger scale, e.g. Easby, Alnwick, Hales Owen.

⁵ E.g. Prémontré and Dommartin in France.

⁶ Bellapais in Cyprus never had more than a stone bell-cote over the west end of the nave.

The planning of the domestic buildings followed very closely the arrangements of the Austin Canons, and the only distinctive Cistercian feature was the form of the chapter house.

The wars of religion in France and Germany inflicted irreparable damage to the abbeys, but the mania for rebuilding in the *à la mode* Baroque style proved even more destructive to the mediaeval houses. The mother house of Prémontré was almost entirely remodelled by Claude Honoré Lucas de Muin (*ob.* 1740) and his successor, Bruno Bécourt (*ob.* 1757). Three elegant buildings have survived, forming three sides of a *cour d'honneur*.¹ Good examples of Baroque churches of the Order may be seen at Averbode, Ninove, Bonne Espérance and Parc (Louvain) in Belgium; Strahov (Prague) in Czechoslovakia; and Wilten (Innsbruck) in the Austrian Tyrol. The abbey of Parc outside Louvain has preserved its late 18th century character almost intact, with successive courtyards surrounded by buildings and workshops: each court entered by a monumental gateway. Postel has retained its Romanesque church.

A basilican form of altar, so conducive to the splendour of liturgical worship, is found at Tongerlo, Postel and Leffe.

HISTORY OF THE RITE

'The Norbertine life is basically liturgical. The public and choral celebration of the Divine Office is the prominent feature in each day's activities. . . . The very first requisite for the opening of a new Norbertine foundation was that it should be supplied with the liturgical books necessary for the choral celebration of the Office and the offering of Holy Mass.'²

There seems little doubt that in the first years of the Order the liturgical customs common to the Canons Regular were followed. A bull of Honorius II (1124-30), addressed *Premonstratensis ecclesie canonicis*, directed the White canons to celebrate the ecclesiastical offices *secundum aliorum regularium fratrum consuetudinem*. The community of Prémontré is the only one cited, and

¹ The central building is reminiscent, in its grace and symmetry, of a Versailles, rather than of the barrack-like constructions of the same period in the abbeys of St. Vaast (Arras) and Cîteaux. Prémontré is now used as a lunatic asylum.

² Kirkfleet, *op. cit.*, chap. I, p. 11.

there is no reference to an abbot, so that the bull was probably issued after St. Norbert had left for Magdeburg, and before the designation of Hugh de Fosses, that is, in 1126 or 1127.

At an early date, however, there seems to have been a fixed type of prayers and ceremonies for all the houses, for which St. Norbert himself appears to have been partly responsible. The compilation met with a certain amount of hostile criticism from other canons, who accused the Saint of introducing 'novelties' in the recitation of the liturgical psalter.

Pontius of St. Rufus at Avignon and Walter, bishop of Maguelonne (1103-29), both complained of these 'novelties'; while Hugh Metel reproached St. Norbert with substituting an undyed woollen tunic for the traditional linen vesture. Bishop Walter, in a letter to the canons regular of the abbey of Chaumouzey,¹ commends the piety of Norbert, but at the same time says that he prefers the authority of the ancient fathers: *Porro canonici officii mutationem quam nescio per quas antiphonarum et psalmorum varietates, trifaria temporum permutatione praedicat esse sequendum, sacris canonibus et ipsi Augustino obviare testamur.*² The accusations were refuted later by the Augustinian cardinal, James de Vitry (*ob.* 1240).³ Liturgical uniformity became a practical necessity with the holding of annual chapters at Prémontré, attended, as they were, by abbots from the various countries of Europe. Early legislation had enumerated the choir books, and we find regulations respecting prayers for the dead and the daily office of our Lady. It was to maintain an indissoluble unity between the abbeys that a statute of 1130 insisted upon uniformity in the books of the White canons. The books were said to include missal, gospel-book, epistle-book, collectar, gradual, antiphoner, hymnal, psalter, lectionary and calendar.⁴ The statute represents a faithful expression of the early *us* and customs of Prémontré, and seems to have been in the mind of

¹ Diocese of Toul, then in 1778 St. Dié.

² Raoul de Rivo, *De Canonum observantia*, proposit. VII; Hittorp, *De Div. Cath. Eccles. Offic.* (Paris, 1610), col. 1110; G. Madelaine, *Histoire de saint Norbert* (Tongerloo, 1928), I, p. 265.

³ Augustinian canon of Oignies (Belgium), who became bishop of Perugia (1216) and a cardinal (1229). He died at Rome in 1240. ⁴ D. 4, cap. X, XI

Innocent II (1130-43) in the bull *Sacra vestri*,¹ which put into relief the *Ordinis integritas* and the *consuetudo Premonstratensis* to which the abbots of the Order were bound in conscience. A similar insistence on liturgical uniformity is found in another bull of the same Pope: 'We wish unity to reign in all your churches, according as Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, a man of pious memory has established it.'² The same sentiments were expressed by Lucius II (1144-45) in the bull *Ad Uberes* (25 May 1144).

It is, however, impossible to determine the content of these early rites, prayers and chants, as no manuscripts of the period have survived. The compilation of the first official *ordo* has been ascribed, with some degree of probability, to Blessed Hugh of Fosses, the immediate successor of St. Norbert at Prémontré (*ob. c. 1164*),³ and the alterations in a manuscript of the end of the 12th century point to the existence of an earlier exemplar.⁴ The *ordinarius* was certainly completed before 1174, when members of the Order quote from its text, and pontifical bulls, prescribing unity of observance in all houses of canons, explicitly mention *iidem quoque libri, qui ad divinum officium pertinent, ab omnibus ejusdem ordinis ecclesiis uniformiter teneantur*.⁵ Liturgical uniformity would not seem to have been universally achieved before the 13th century. We find St. Norbert himself obliged to permit the use of choir books appertaining to the secular churches of the district in monasteries of his own foundation.⁶ In 1214 an abbot of Frisia made a journey to Prémontré in order to obtain a copy of the *ordinarius* and the other liturgical books: *cum tunc temporis in tota Alemania libri Ordinis non invenirentur*. Gervase,

¹ 12 April 1131.

² *Sacer Ordo*, 3 May 1135.

³ *Tum ipse vir beatus in suorum et posteritatis gloriam ejusdem Patriarchae Norberti vitae ac rerum historiam et librum utilissimum qui ordinarius Ecclesiae et Ordinis Praemonstratensis intitulavit, scripsit et evulgavit. Vita B. Hugonis, abbatis*. Lepaige, *Bibl. Praem. Ord.* (Paris, 1633), p. 423.

⁴ F. Lefèvre, *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré . . . du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Louvain, 1941), *introduc.*, p. VI.

⁵ Alexander III, *In apostolicae Sedis*, 27 April 1174; Lucius III, *In eminenti*, 10 March 1187.

⁶ Chronicle of Gottesgnaden (Hungary). F. Winter, *Die Prämonstratenser des XII Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für das nordöstliche Deutschland* (Berlin, 1865), p. 332.

abbot of Prémontré, at the same time issued a rescript forbidding changes and silencing those who still claimed the right *uti consuetudine vicinarum ecclesiarum*. Uniformity of rite was enforced by Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) in 1232.¹ A certain measure of unity was established, but autonomy and the lack of cohesion between houses favoured local peculiarities. When, at the invitation of the council of Vienne (1311), the Order added the feast of Corpus Christi to its calendar, it was necessary to take a firm stand against regional interpretations, and to impose by force the text and the rites of the Office as it had been received at Prémontré.

The choir-books of the 15th and 16th centuries show many variations, especially in the texts of the sanctoral, and the customaries of the several abbeys give some idea of the latitude with which they interpreted the liturgical regulations of the Order.

ORIGINS OF THE RITE

A catechism of the Order, compiled by a member of the Congregation of France, has given the following misleading statement: *La Liturgie norbertine était simplement la liturgie de l'Eglise romaine*.² There is a sense in which it may be said to possess an element of truth, as every liturgy in Western Christendom, with the possible exception of the Mozarabic, is a Roman liturgy in one or other of its variants, but apart from remote ancestry and general framework it has little connection with that of the Apostolic see of Rome. Dom Guéranger takes us a step further, more or less accurate as far as it goes, but not very helpful: *Les livres liturgiques de l'Ordre de Prémontré sont restes purs et comme l'un des répertoires de l'ancienne liturgie romaine française, jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*.³ The origins of the rite have been studied in detail by Fr. Boniface Luykx, a canon of the abbey of Postel, who says: 'The first statutes of the Order and the *ordinarius* of Hugh have systematically banished the external pomp of Cluny and the

¹ F. Lefèvre, *La Liturgie de Prémontré*, *Ephem. Lit.*, vol. LXII (1948), fasc. III, pp. 201-2.

² P. Paulin, *Catechisme de l'Ordre de Prémontré* (Tours, 1889), part IV, chap. II, p. 247.

³ *Instit. Liturg.*, t. I, p. 306 (Paris, 1878).

ostentation of Mainz, for the sober, but robust and majestic, framework of the Rhineland rite.¹

First, we may ask, what is meant by the Rhineland rite? As early as the days of the Merovingians, the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries had crossed the Alps, and under Charlemagne the whole Frankish kingdom was forced to accept the Roman liturgy. By this time, however, liturgical life in Rome was on the decline, and in any case the Roman liturgy as it existed in Rome was too terse and restrained for the Carolingian taste. The liturgy that Charlemagne and his successors sought to introduce was therefore Roman in its essential framework, but considerably altered and enriched to meet the requirements of the Nordic races. In the middle of the 10th century, a monk of the abbey of St. Alban at Mainz, which was the intellectual and cultural centre of the Empire, collated the liturgical manuscripts of Lorraine and produced what has been called by Mgr. Andrieu, the 'Romano-Germanic pontifical'. This Mainz pontifical had an immense influence, and in the region of the axis Mainz-Cologne one can trace the source of *Ordo Romanus VI*,² *Ordines missae* of Martène, *Micrologus* of Bernold of Constance³ and other documents, up to the time of the *missale plenarium* and the ordinaries of the 12th century.⁴

The Premonstratensian rite, in respect of its framework, was thus taken from the liturgical milieu of Lower Lorraine,⁵ and, as Fr. Boniface says: 'Our rite constitutes one of the most authentic examples of this Rhineland rite of the 11th century, which, imported to Rome, was adopted there, in an impoverished form, by the reforms of Innocent III and the Franciscans, and finally universalised by Pius V.'⁶ The antiquity of the liturgy of the White canons has been attested by Cardinal Bona (*ob.* 1674): *Nulla post Monachos Religiosarum Congregationum, quae proprios ritus habeat, antiquior est Praemonstratensi*.⁷

In addition to the framework, the rite shows also a synthesis

¹ *De la Liturgie et du Rit Prémontré, Pro Nostris*, t. XIII (1947), no. 3.

² *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 989-94.

³ Hittorp, *op. cit.*, col. 697-766.

⁴ Boniface Luykx, *Essai sur les sources de l'Ordo Missae prémontré* (Tongerloo, 1947), pp. 5-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ Boniface Luykx, *Pro Nostris*, t. XIII (1947), no. 3, p. 78.

⁷ *De Divina Psalmodia*, cap. XVIII (*Opera omnia*, Antwerp, 1694), VI, pp. 547-8.

of elements borrowed from existing monastic usages—Regular Canons, Carthusians, Cluniacs and Cistercians. Of these, the most marked influence appears to be that of the Cistercians, although there has been a tendency to exaggerate it. Fr. Lefèvre says: *On sait que la législation de Prémontré dans le domaine de l'observance comme dans celui de la liturgie dépend étroitement des traditions cisterciennes.*¹ A comparison of the two texts, however, shows that it is superficial and inexact to say that the White canons borrowed the rite of the Mass and almost all their liturgy from Cîteaux.² Cistercian influence seems to have been subsequent to the compilation of the first books of the Order.³

Some writers have derived the usages of Prémontré from those of the cathedral church of Laon, the diocese in which the Order was founded,⁴ but a careful comparison of the two uses fails to show any outstanding similarity between them.

Others, again, assert that the feasts and offices of the White canons were drawn principally from the Church of Paris, although there appears to be little confirmatory evidence. The rite of the Holy Sepulchre has been suggested also as the source for much of the Premonstratensian rite: *Quand on compare le premier Ordinaire ou cérémonial des Prémontrés avec l'Ordinal du Saint-Sepulchre la ressemblance est frappante.*⁵ The offices for Holy Week in the two rites show a marked similarity, and the devotion to the Holy Cross in the liturgy of the White canons may be due to the association of the Order with the Holy Places in Jerusalem.⁶ The ordinary of Prémontré shows how important a place the Easter triumph of the Saviour occupied in the thoughts of the sons of St. Norbert.⁷ Finally, it is pointed out how the very names of some of the houses of the Order recall the Holy Land.⁸

¹ *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré* . . . (Louvain, 1941), introd., p. xvii.

² Boniface Luykx, *Essai sur les sources* . . . (Tongerloo, 1947), p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 21.

⁴ P. Paulin, *op. cit.*, part IV, chap. II, p. 248.

⁵ François Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés*, (Paris, 1947), chap. V., p. 87.

⁶ The Order came to the Holy Land by a twofold way: (1) Almaric, abbot of Floreffe, founded St. Habacuc, probably in El Kenisey near Joppa, in 1137–8, and (2) St. Bernard induced the king of Jerusalem to give St. Samuel, eight miles from the holy city, to the White canons. The foundation was made in 1141.

⁷ François Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–9.

⁸ E.g. Holy Cross, Bethlehem, Sepulchre of Mary, Jericho, Mount Olivet, Mount Sion, Temple of the Saviour, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

The tracing of origins is at best conjectural, but we are on sure ground when we say that the Premonstratensian rite was derived from various elements current in 12th-century France.¹

MAINTENANCE OF THE RITE

The liturgical codification at the end of the 12th century remained the norm throughout the Middle Ages, although additions were made to the calendar, and the granting of *pontificalia* to abbots necessitated a more elaborate ceremonial.

The use of *pontificalia* had been refused by Peter I, abbot of Prémontré (1195–1201), out of humility, and a decision of the general chapter in support of this attitude was confirmed by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216). They were accepted, however, from Clement V (1305–14) by Adam de Crécy (*ob.* 1327), twenty-fifth abbot of Prémontré, together with a faculty to use a portable altar.

A further codification of the *ordinarius* seems to have taken place in the 13th century, and was possibly the work of the English abbot, Gervase (1209–20).

The rapid growth of abbeys increased the possibility of local observances, and strict legislation was necessary to maintain the liturgical unity of the Order. A manuscript of the *ordinarius*, preserved at Munich, dates from the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, as the feast of St. Laurence (10 August) ranks as a double,² and the reforms of Innocent III (1198–1216) are ignored.³ It is in agreement with the sanctoral in the Premonstratensian missal of the end of the 12th century and with the martyrology of Ninove (1185–90) in its absence of any reference to the feasts of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Bernard, both of which are found in liturgical manuscripts after 1228. The Munich manuscript shows evidence of the decree of Alexander III (1159–81), which limited the number of prefaces to ten.

¹ The Rite of the Holy Sepulchre was itself of French origin.

² The feast of St. Laurence was elevated to double rank after the foundation made by Eskil, bishop of Lund (*ob.* 1182), at 'O'ved.

³ E.g. the vigil of a feast falling on Monday is to be observed on Saturday, and the regulations for a colour sequence. The Munich MS. says: *cappe autem serice et casule unius coloris erunt.*

The missal referred to above, which is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris,¹ is the most ancient in existence. Its provenance is uncertain, but Leroquais suggests the Soissons district or Champagne.² Boniface Luykx, Prémontré itself.³ Abbot Gervase (1209–20) maintained a lively interest in preserving the liturgical unity of the Order, and in 1214 reminded Emo de Huizinga, abbot of Werum in Frisia, who had himself copied the choir-books at Prémontré, of the importance of uniformity in respect to the liturgical books. Two years later we find him writing to Walter, abbot of Vicoigne⁴ (1211–29), respecting four Irish canons from Holy Trinity, Tuam,⁵ who had come to Prémontré to study the rules and observances of the Order, and had at the same time transcribed the Norbertine use.⁶ Gervase lived at a time when the work of foundation had been completed, but the early tradition was still living. A letter of this great English abbot of Prémontré has been the means, thanks to Fr. Wendelen, subprior of Tongerlo, of restoring the authentic chant of the Order: *Gervasius, Dei potentia Praemonstratensis dictus abbas, venerabilibus in Christo fratribus Ordinis Praemonstratensis abbatibus universis, has litteras inspecturis, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Non facile debet convelli, quod cum labore conficitur, nec a filiis immutandum, cui patrum auctoritas suffragatus, quin potius in sua debet semper integritate persistere quod constat esse et multa diligentia comparatum et provida patrum sanctione statutum, sed et propria insuper honestate subnixum. . . .*⁷

Statutes relating to the liturgy were re-edited about 1236–45.⁸ A new compilation appeared at Prémontré itself under the title *Consuetudines ecclesiae Praemonstratensis* for the immediate use of the mother house, where the patron saint was St. John Baptist and the dedication of the church occurred in the month of May.

¹ *Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, MS. lat. 833.

² The neumatic notation and sanctoral suggest this. Leroquais, *Les Sacram. et les Missels . . . des Bibl. Pub. de France*, t. I (Paris, 1924), p. 309.

³ *Essai sur les Sources . . .*, p. 11.

⁴ Diocese of Arras.

⁵ Holy Trinity, Tuam, was founded from Prémontré in 1204.

⁶ *Venerunt autem, ut libros Ordinis et ecclesiasticos et secundum usum nostrum conscriptos ad propria reportarent. Epist. LXXIII.*

⁷ Cf. Hugo, *Sacrae Antiquitatis Monumenta*, t. I (St. Dié, 1731), p. 438.

⁸ F. Lefèvre, *op. cit.* (12th century), introduct., p. XIII.

Usus I, however, as we shall call the document in order to distinguish it from a second compilation, of the beginning of the 14th century, must have soon had the force of law in the other houses of the Order, especially since it incorporated the decrees of general chapters. Innovations were made of a rubrical character, such as the elevation of certain feasts to the rank of triplex, the censuring of the altar at the beginning of Mass on doubles (and upwards), the celebration of private Masses, the weekly Mass of the patron of the church, and the daily Mass of the Blessed Virgin.¹ The manuscript in the British Museum probably came originally from the abbey of Parc, as it contains local feasts of the diocese of Liège, in which diocese Parc was situated.²

Usus II appeared under similar circumstances at the beginning of the 14th century. It contains several of the codified liturgical decisions of the general chapters which figure as additions to the reformed statutory text in 1290, but the decisions respecting the elevation of feasts of apostles and doctors and the introduction of Corpus Christi and the Conception of our Lady, which were made official in 1322, are not included. It was therefore compiled between these two dates.³ The document contains directions as to lights and bells, and describes the Rogation processions minutely. A priest is permitted, under certain reservations, to celebrate the three Christmas Masses. We find, also, observations on the occurrence and concurrence of feasts, as well as regulations for the Sunday and ferial offices. The manuscript of *Usus II*, which is now in the municipal library at Soissons,⁴ gives two sections on the observance of Corpus Christi, but they occur at the end of the document and not in their normal place. The calendar shows conclusively that the manuscript was written for the mother house.⁵ An antiphon and sequence (*Ave matris*

¹ F. Lefèvre, *Coutumiers lit. de Prém. du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Louvain, 1953), introduct., p. IX.

² London, Brit. Mus., MS. 22604.

³ It is possible to narrow the time limit still further, as *Usus II* cites the Council of Vienne (1311).

⁴ Soissons, *Bibl. Municip.*, MS. 95.

⁵ E.g. 4 May, Dedication of the church of Prémontré; 11 May, Octave of Dedication; 8 March, *Allatio particule capitis beati Johannis Baptiste in Premonstratensi ecclesia, anno gratie millesimo CC quinto*; 14 February, *Commemoratio monachorum Sancti Vincentii*; 13 March, *Servitium sancti Nicolai in Busco*; 2 July, *Magdeburgi et Floreffie solempne servitium*.

Domini) for the feast of St. Anne have been added in a 15th-century hand. A copy of the *Usus*, containing the text of the ordinary, was produced at Ninove some time after 1464.¹ Its provenance may be gauged from the reference to the common suffrages which are to be omitted in Advent, where we find one of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, the patron saints of Ninove.² This later exemplar of *Usus* II gives the feasts of Corpus Christi and the Conception of the Blessed Virgin in their proper places. It is interesting to note that many of the innovations in both *Usus* I and II have their significance in the 'reformed' 17th-century liturgy.

A further edition of the *ordinarius*, which comprises a codex of rubrics containing the method of saying and carrying out the liturgical services,³ appeared in the second half of the 15th century.⁴

The splendour of the ceremonial increased considerably, and James de Bachimont, forty-second abbot of Prémontré (*ob.* 1531), is said to have 'greatly enhanced the magnificence of divine worship and the splendour of the ceremonies in his abbey church'.⁵

John Despruets, forty-ninth abbot of Prémontré (1573-96), on the publication of the bull *Quo primum* (1570), issued a list of the liturgical books proper to the Order, thereby making it clear that he had every intention of maintaining the traditional Premonstratensian rite. A processional was published at Paris in 1574, and the last edition of the old missal in 1578.⁶ The use of

¹ A note on fo. 81v., cap. XL says: *Capitulum generale hac dominica quarta (post octavam Pasche) celebratur*. . . . The general chapter was changed as to its date from the feast of St. Denis (9 October) to the fourth Sunday after Easter in 1464.

² The MS. has been given by Averbode to Parc, the former mother-house of Ninove.

³ *Liber in quo ordinatur modus dicendi et solemnizandi divinum officium*. William Lynwood (*ob.* 1446), *Provinciale Cantuar. Eccl.*, lib. III, tit. XXVII.

⁴ A processional from the abbey of Parc, dating from the second half of the 15th century, is in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The heavy square Gothic script is typical of the Low Countries. MS. *Liturg. misc.* 405 (29454).

⁵ P. Paulin, *op. cit.*, chap. III, 5, p. 53.

⁶ *Missale secundum ritum et ordinem sacri Ordinis Praemonstratensis, auctoritate Reverendissimi D. D. Joannis de Pruëtiis Abbatis Praemonstratensis, et totius ejusdem ordinis generalis Reformatoris, Auctum, repurgatum ac novissime editum. Parisiis: Apud Jacobum Kerver, 1578.*

these books was compulsory in all the houses of the Order, including those of the circary of Spain, where of late years the reformed Pian liturgy had found a certain amount of favour.

THE 'REFORM' OF THE LITURGY

The ancient tradition rapidly lost ground after the death of Abbot Despruets (*ob.* 1596). His successor, Francis de Longpré (1596–1613), seemed at first inclined to follow the 'old paths', and in March 1603 he confided to John Lepaige, a religious of Prémontré, the task of re-editing the missal and office books according to the most reliable manuscripts of the Order. Two years later (1605), however, the general chapter expressed the desire to effect a harmony between the old customary and the new Roman books. A breviary based upon that of Rome was published in Paris in 1608, but the work of compromise satisfied no one. A section of the Order wished to adopt the Roman rite *in toto*, while there were those who demanded a return to traditional usages. In the general chapter of 1618 the German abbots, especially those of Swabia, attempted to force the introduction of the liturgical books of the Pian reform. The majority of the chapter was averse to anything so drastic, although it was agreed to 'reform' the books on the same principles as those which had guided the Roman reformers. In the breviary: hymns and ferial antiphons were to be taken from the Roman book, and the chant of the Genealogy of our Lord at Christmas and the Epiphany was to be suppressed; while as regards the missal: votive Masses and Masses for the dead were to be altered, in order that they might approximate more closely to the Pian text; while sequences, except those for Christmas and some of the greater feasts, were to be abolished.

Peter Gosset, the abbot-general (1613–35), was directed to see that these measures were carried out. A new breviary appeared in 1621, and a missal in the following year (1622). Few changes were made in the breviary: hymns, antiphons and responsaries were not corrected, but there were alterations in the lectionary, common of saints, choice of psalms at vespers, and in certain of the chapters and prayers.

The work on the missal was more drastic, and the Order accepted the Ordinary of the Mass in its Pian form. The changes in the temporal included no more than the lessons for Advent and the introduction of the Roman arrangement for the concluding Sundays after Pentecost, but in the sanctoral few feasts remained unchanged beyond those for our Lady, the apostles and some of the more important solemnities; while feasts, borrowed from the Roman calendar, were substituted for traditional commemorations. Masses for the dead now conformed to the Roman model, save for some few survivals, and the series of lessons in the *Missa quotidiana pro defunctis*, distributed for the days of the week, was abandoned. Votive Masses (*familiares*), including those *de Beata*, suffered cuts and amendments, and the number of sequences was drastically curtailed. This suppression of sequences was prescribed by the general chapter of 1660, and in the missal, which appeared three years later (1663), *Laetabundus* for the three Masses of Christmas was the only sequence not to be found in the Pian book.

The reform of the liturgical books became general and definitive about 1650, but the hankering after 'novelties', expressed in the general chapters of 1618, 1622 and 1628, had greatly impoverished the genuine Premonstratensian tradition: *chaque romanisation signifie appauvrissement, une 'norbertinisation' (qu'on pardonne ce terme barbare) intelligente et consciente est un enrichissement*.¹

The liturgical changes necessitated a revision of the *liber ordinarius*. The work was confided to John Drusius, abbot of Parc near Louvain, who obtained the assistance of his subprior, John Masius. The *ordinarius* was completed in 1622, but it was not published before 1628. The revisers seem to have had a praiseworthy respect for Premonstratensian tradition, although it was found necessary to take into account the recent changes in the missal and breviary. Later editions of the *ordinarius* appeared in 1635, 1739 and 1789, but they have not substantially altered the text established in 1628.

The reformed books were imposed on all the houses of the

¹ Boniface Luykx, *Pro Nostris*, t. XIII (1947), no. 3, pp. 81-2.

Order, but in certain circaries, notably the German, some of the abbeys continued to use the Roman liturgy, which had been previously tolerated, on the pretext that the new books had not received the approval of the Pope. Elsewhere, lack of books permitted the temporary use of the Pian missal for private Masses, with the proviso that the rubrics proper to the Order should be observed.

The annual chapter of the reform of Lorraine insisted, in 1655, on a strict adherence to the revised *ordinarius: ordinarius rite servetur*. A similar injunction was issued by the general chapter of the Order in 1660: *ordinarius strictissime ad litteram observetur*. The mutilation of the traditional liturgy was not accomplished without protest. A spirited defence was made by John Lepaige, a religious of Prémontré, in 1633, for which he was intemperately attacked by the abbot of St. Michael's, Antwerp, John Chrysostom van der Sterre (1629-52), in a letter to Mathias Valentyns, abbot of Averbode (1591-1635). The book (*Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis*) in which the defence appeared had been approved by the royal censors, but it had not been submitted to the authorities of the Order, and contained an attack on the decrees of the general chapter of 1630. Abbot van der Sterre described the work as *valde pestilentem et scandalosum . . . in quo spiritu omnino factioso et passionato . . . Quare merito liber iste condemnari et prohiberi deberet*.¹

Towards the end of the 17th century the general chapter discussed the need for a further edition of the liturgical books. It was proposed to raise certain feasts to the rank of doubles, but the abbot of Prémontré, Michael Colbert, fearful lest the offices of the dead should be thereby curtailed, exclaimed with indignation: *Elevatio festorum, oblivio mortuorum*.

A missal, augmented by new Roman offices and others proper to the Order, was printed in Paris in 1697; processional in 1666; a ritual in 1676; gradual in 1680; antiphoner in 1680; and breviary in 1697 (Antwerp). The general chapter of 1738, through the initiative of the abbot of Prémontré, Claude Honoré Lucas

¹ Collect., *Mss. Gilles Die Voecht*, Averbode archives, sect. IV, reg. 30, fo. 180-1; ap. *Analecta Premonstr.*, t. XIX (1943), pp. 59-60.

de Muin (ob. 1740), proposed yet another edition of the liturgical books.

The *ordinarius* or *liber caeremoniarum*, printed at Verdun in 1739, was divided into three parts: (1) rites in general; (2) proper of the season and the sanctoral; (3) rites outside the liturgy properly so called. It was said of Abbot de Muin by a French member of the Order in the last century: *Une de ses préoccupations les plus constantes fut de maintenir partout la liturgie norbertine*.¹

The judgement savours of exaggeration, as the *ordinarius* reveals the faulty liturgical taste of the period, but at the same time a close study of the book shows that much of the ancient ceremonial was retained, and many of the rubrics were adopted from the *Usus ecclesiae Premonstratensis*, a 14th-century customary compiled for the use of the mother house. Augustine de Rocquevert, the successor of De Muin, authorised a new edition of the liturgical books of his predecessor.

The breviary, in spite of some unnecessary 'romanising', remained of great traditional value. It was edited at Toul in 1711 and at Verdun in 1725 and 1741.

NEO-GALLICAN INTERLUDE

An unfortunate attempt was made towards the end of the *ancien régime* to adopt neo-Gallican books modelled on the Parisian liturgy of Charles de Vintimille (1736, 1738). The plan was initiated by the national chapter which met at Prémontré under William Manoury (1769–80) on 15 August 1779. John Baptist l'Ecuy, his successor and last abbot of Prémontré, endeavoured to force the new books on all the houses of the Order. On 1 January 1786 he wrote to the abbot of Joyenval in the diocese of Chartres insisting that all religious without exception should adopt the new breviary and other liturgical books. The French houses complied with the order, but in other countries the abbeys seem to have continued to use the reformed 17th-century books. No one can fail to deplore the abolition of the last vestiges of the traditional rite, but the grossly exaggerated comment of Fr. Paulin is little

¹ P. Paulin, op. cit., chap. III, 7, p. 65.

short of ludicrous: *L'ancienne liturgie de l'Ordre de Prémontré, si pieuse et si touchante, fit place à une liturgie littéraire absolument paganisée.*¹ It is hard to say which statement is the more absurd: to call the liturgy of the 18th century the 'ancient liturgy of the Order' or to speak of the neo-Gallican books as 'paganised'. The new books were printed by Hoener at Nancy: the breviary in 1780; antiphoner in 1786; missal, gradual, gospel-book and processional in 1787. A further edition of the breviary, printed at Brussels in 1786, was the work of Remacle Lissor, abbot of Laval Dieu (Val Dieu) in the diocese of Rheims.² Many changes were made in the calendar: no feasts were permitted in Lent; the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas was moved from 7 March to 24 July; St. Romuald from 7 February to 20 June, etc. The feast of All Saints of the Order was suppressed and a commemoration of 'All Saints of the Canonical Order' was made on the Octave of St. Augustine (4 September). Many of the Paris sequences were adopted, and the Masses of St. Norbert and St. Augustine were replaced by texts considered to be more in harmony with the style of the Office in the breviary: *on y trouve intercalées deux longues proses, dans chacune desquelles la poésie profane brille certainement plus que la piété.*³ The prayers in the new processional were taken almost exclusively from either the Gregorian sacramentary or the liturgy of the Church of Paris, and in all the liturgical books we find that texts from Holy Scripture were substituted for those of ecclesiastical origin. Thus the Asperges antiphon for Eastertide was changed from *Vidi aquam* to *Effundam super vos aquam mundam*. The chant also suffered from an imitation of the 18th-century Church of Paris: *Le chant de tous ces livres gallico-prémontrés ne brille plus par la majestueuse simplicité de l'ancien chant de l'Ordre; c'est le chant parisien retouché par un chanoine de l'abbaye de Laval Dieu, Guillaume Hanser, remplissant les fonctions d'organiste dans ce monastère.*⁴

The use of these neo-Gallican books was happily of short

¹ P. Paulin, op. cit., chap. IV, p. 262.

² Remacle Lissor published an abridgement of the book of Febronius in French. He took the oath of the civil constitution of the clergy, served as curé of Charleville, and sat in the assembly of Paris in 1797.

³ Paulin, op. cit., chap. IV, p. 269.

⁴ Ibid.

duration, and they disappeared, together with the religious houses, at the French Revolution.

RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO

The shortage of books was felt acutely, when in the 19th century a return was made to some of the suppressed houses.

An edition of the breviary was published at Innsbruck in 1846. A separate French Congregation was established in 1858, which adopted the actual Roman rite for the Mass and Office, and the Congregation of Rites (25 April 1861) conceded the Offices of the clergy of the city of Rome—*proprium pro clero romano*. In 1875 Edmund Boulbon, the superior of the Congregation, applied for permission to use the Premonstratensian breviary with certain modifications and the addition of a number of offices taken from the Roman breviary and missal, but he was very properly told that a liturgy of the Order was already in existence, and that he should adopt it as a whole, without any additions, suppressions or alterations. Permission, however, was obtained in 1884 (29 May) for the Congregation to celebrate the feasts and *beati* of the Order. The Congregation of France united with the rest of the Order in 1896.

A breviary appeared from the Cistercian printing-press at Westmalle in 1892, and a missal in 1900.

The statutes published in 1925 make it clear that a distinctive Premonstratensian rite exists, and number 329 of these statutes says that any change in the calendar or liturgy must be referred to the Apostolic See, whereas the editing of liturgical books for the Order is within the competence of the abbot-general.¹

The feast of Christ the King on the last Sunday in October has been adopted, but in a provincial chapter of the circary of Brabant it was decided not to take the common of supreme pontiffs and certain new feasts.

A revised calendar—*kalendarium perpetuum in usum ordinis Praemonstratensis*—was published at Tongerlo in 1924, the first liturgical document of the Order to receive the approbation

¹ Statute no. 431.

of the Holy See in conformity with the prescriptions of the new canon law. A number of feasts in the sanctoral were elevated in rank, thus breaking the harmonious equilibrium which had existed from the Middle Ages.¹

A decision to revise the Office according to the old traditions was made in the general chapter, held at Tongerlo in August 1927. A breviary was published at Malines in 1930, and a missal in 1936, both of which were approved by Rome. Some old rubrics, given up in the 17th century, were restored to the breviary, but the missal suffered little change. An edition of the processional appeared in 1932. The book is of extreme interest, as it is largely derived from the *Ordines Romani*² and ancient monastic usages.³ The *ordinarius*, regulating the ceremonies of the liturgical functions, was until recently the exemplar of 1739 (Verdun). So long ago as 1902 the general chapter at Averbode had decided that a new edition was overdue, but the work of revision was delayed by two world wars. In 1943 the Belgian abbots in consultation at Tongerlo agreed that the new *ordinarius* should be in the nature of a *via media*. It was felt that *melius quia antiquitus* was a sophism, and that the restoration of many of the details in the primitive book was impracticable. On the other hand, the commission had a sincere feeling of respect for the traditional rite, and a desire to bring back some of the ancient ceremonies which had fallen into desuetude. The intentions of the revisers were expressed by the chairman of the commission, Hugh Lamy, abbot of Leffe: *In proposita redactione nonnullae inveniuntur mutationes allatae ad textum ultimi Ordinarii, anno 1739 editi, quas ex veteribus codicibus desumpsimus. Non tamen opportunum visum est omnes antiquos ritus iterum assumere, qui sapienter discretionem derelicti vel mutati fuerunt.*

The *ordinarius* appeared finally in 1949, and has on the whole

¹ An *ordo perpetuus*, edited by Nicholas Mansuy, a religious of Ste Marie au Bois in Lorraine, and approved by the abbot-general, Bruno Bécourt, was published at Verdun in 1746.

² E.g. Sunday procession, Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Holy Week, and Easter vespers.

³ E.g. Blessing of conventual buildings from a 10th-century sacramentary of Fulda; monastic ordinations adapted for the congregations of reformed canons; and a 9th-century rite of burial.

respected the tradition of the Order, although one may be permitted to regret some of the lacunae, as, for example, the absence of a rubric directing the celebrant to extend his arms in the form of a cross after the consecration.

CHANT

Uniformity of chant, no less than uniformity of rite and ceremonial, was prescribed throughout the Order, and there are frequent injunctions in the visitation reports of the English houses that the chant must be *secundum formam nostre religionis*.¹ *Usus I* of the *Consuetudines ecclesie Premonstratensis*, a compilation written for the mother house of Prémontré towards the middle of the 13th century, enumerates the chants of the ordinary of the Mass for conventual and matutinal Masses.² The chants, however, do not always correspond with those given in the *ordo*, still less with the *kyriale* printed in the gradual in 1910. The following regulations are given in *usus I* in respect to the psalmody: *Psalmodia viva voce cantatur, sed non cum protractione dictionum. Ad metrum talis fit pausatio ut sufficienter possit spiritus resumī; ante metrum nulla fit pausatio, sed nec post metrum usque ad finem versus, nisi quandoque fieri oporteat pro necessitate*.³ A reform of the chant was approved by the general chapter of 1660, at which the abbot-general, Augustine Le Scellier (1645-60) presided. Some of the printed books⁴ included the official melodies of the prefaces and a certain number of passages from the Office, but the greater part of the chants of the Mass and Office, noted in the gradual and antiphoner, were still in manuscript, often inexact and with local variations. Thus in the first quarter of the 17th century, when an enquiry was set on foot to determine the traditional melodies, one of the Belgian abbots ingenuously replied: *quid sit*

¹ E.g. Langdon (Kent), 1482 (*Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. III, p. 4); Torre (Devon), 1491 (*ibid.*, p. 151); Eggleston (Yorks), 1494 (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 216); Newbo (Lincs), 1497 (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 65).

² Lefèvre, *Coutumiers liturgiques*... (Louvain, 1953), introduct., p. XI. Indications on the subject are found also in the *ordo* of the 12th century.

³ No. XXXVIII, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴ E.g. Processional (1574), missal (1578), psalter (1617).

cantus Premonstratensis nescimus, adding: *canitur nota nostra consueta*. The general chapter of 1660 appointed a commission of experts from Prémontré, Dommartin and the circacy of Brabant to prepare an official edition of the chant-books. Three years later the general chapter approved the printing of the processional, together with the *ordo sepeliendi* and the *cantatorium*. The work appeared in 1666. The task of preparing the gradual and antiphoner was confided to two members of the Belgian circary in 1670. The authentic manuscripts of Prémontré were consulted, and assistance was given by the master of the chapel of the king of France. The two books were published in 1680. The period, however, was not favourable to tradition, and the chant lost something of its former beauty.

In accordance with the wishes of Saint Pius X (1903-14), the general chapter of 1903 appointed a commission to revise the chant in the light of traditional readings. The gradual, for which many ancient codices were consulted,¹ appeared in 1910; the processional in 1932; and the antiphoner in 1934.

LITURGICAL YEAR

The liturgical year presents many variations from the Roman (Pian) rite, especially in Lent and the *Triduum Sacrum* of Holy Week.

CHRISTMAS

A prophetic lesson from Isaias is recited on the Vigil and at the three Masses of Christmas Day.² Christmas also has the proper prose *Laetabundus*, the only one not in the Pian missal to survive the 'reform'. A different prose was sung at each of the three Masses in the traditional rite. The deacon sings the Genealogy of our Lord before the *Te Deum* at the night office.³

¹ One of the codices was of the 12th century.

² *Prophetia ab acolito vel subdiacono, alba vel superpelliceo induto et sine fanone, legetur*. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XX, p. 34.

³ *Ordin.* (1949), part 2, sect. 2, cap. V, no. 799, p. 211. It is sung also on the feast of the Epiphany. *Ibid.*, cap. VIII, no. 837, p. 221.

SEPTUAGESIMA

Folded chasubles are worn by the ministers on the three Sundays preceding Lent.¹

ASH WEDNESDAY

The ashes are blessed after the recitation of the penitential psalms and the prayers for the reconciliation of penitents. The customary of Prémontré (*usus* I) directs the psalms to be sung in procession, after which, during the litanies, the religious were to retire and remove their shoes.² The officiant at the liturgy has alb, maniple and stole:³ the assistant ministers wear albs. A single prayer is said for the blessing of the ashes: *Deus qui non mortem*. A second prayer is recited after the imposition: *Concede nobis, Domine, praesidia militiae Christianae*, followed by the litanies in procession.⁴ The ancient *ordinarius* directs the ashes to be blessed twice on the same day: before prime for the *conversi*, and for the rest of the community after sext and before the conventual Mass.⁵

LENT

On the first Sunday in Lent, the cross is carried unveiled, also when it is taken to the sick and to the sepulchre.⁶ It is veiled after the procession on the first Sunday:⁷ a custom unknown among the usages described by Dom Martène.⁸ The veiling of statues is not prescribed in the old *ordinarius*, but in that of 1622 we have the following direction: *Sabbatho ante Dominicam primam Quadragesimae a meridie operientur omnes tabulae altarium et imagines sanctorum velis violaceis*. The rubric is repeated in the editions of 1628⁹ and 1739;¹⁰ while that of 1949 says: *si mos est*.¹¹

¹ Dalmatic and tunicle are worn for the procession. Ibid., cap. XI, no. 865, p. 229.

² Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . . *usus* I, no. XIII, pp. 6-7.

³ The abbot wears tunicle and dalmatic, with a cope for the procession. *Ordin.* (1949), cap. XIII, nos. 883, 885, pp. 234, 235.

⁴ Cf. Mediaeval *ordinarius* and missal of 1578.

⁵ Lefèvre, op. cit., cap. XXIX, pp. 47-8. Martène (*De Ant. Eccles. Rit.*, t. III, col. 160 E.) speaks of a dual blessing of the ashes as existing in his day in the Churches of Narbonne and Bayeux.

⁶ *Hac 1^a dominica XL^{me} tantum crux discooperta ante processionem defertur, deinceps autem ad infirmos et ad sepulchrum involuta portatur*. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXX, p. 50.

⁷ *Processionale* (1932), p. 45.

⁸ Op. cit., t. IV, col. 318-19. ⁹ *Ordin.*, 1628, p. 206. ¹⁰ *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 329.

¹¹ The statues at Postel remained uncovered throughout Holy Week, 1948.

Two lenten veils were customary in the Middle Ages: at the entrance to the choir, and at the entrance to the sanctuary. They were removed on feasts of nine lessons.¹ The reformed *ordinarius* retained one of the veils, which, on Wednesday in Holy Week, was to be taken down or rolled back by acolytes at the words *et velum templi scissum est* in the Passion, and removed altogether after vespers.² The mediaeval *ordinarius* directed the sanctuary veil to be let down and the choir veil to be drawn apart at the recitation of these words.³ In spite, however, of the rubric in the *ordinarius* of 1739, many of the houses had abandoned the use of the veil.⁴ The *ordinarius* of 1949 again prescribes the Lenten veil, *ubi locorum dispositio sinit*, in almost the same words as in the 18th-century book,⁵ and it is to be removed during the Passion on Wednesday in Holy Week.⁶

PALM SUNDAY

The ceremony of the blessing of palms begins with a gospel, followed by two prayers: *Deus cujus Filius* and *Deus qui Filium tuum*. The prayers are in the mediaeval *ordinarius*⁷ and also in the missal of 1578, but the neo-Gallican processional (1787) gives

¹ *In festo IX lectionum ad primas vespas dimovetur velum sanctuarii, et quod inter chorum et populum forensem pendet, usque in crastinum post completorium.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXX, p. 50.

² *Cantatur passio, ut pridie, in qua cum canitur, Et velum Templi scissum est, Acolythi dimittunt aut revolvunt velum quod pendet ad sanctuarium, et idem post vespas ex toto auferetur.* *Ordin.* 1622, 1628 (p. 220), 1739 (cap. XVIII, p. 343).

³ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXXIII, p. 56.

⁴ Tongerlo abandoned the use of the veil about 1938.

⁵ *Sabbato ante Dominicam I Quadragesimae, a meridie, teguntur imagines Crucifixi et, si mos est, sanctorum, velis violaceis. Similiter suspenditur ubi locorum dispositio sinit, violaceum quoddam velum supra gradus Presbyterii, quod instar cortinarum valeat commodè claudi et aperiri. Velum autem illud semper manet clausum, et Sanctuarium a reliqua parte Chori dividit, quando per Quadragesimam usque ad Feriam IV in septimana sancta, sive in Festis, sive in Feriis, fit Officium aut Missa de Feria vel pro Defunctis. Idem tamen ad Elevationem semper tempestive debet aperiri et acolythus ministrans, vel alius ad hoc indicatus, Sacerdoti ex Choro ad Sanctuarium ante Missam ascendenti, aut post Missam regredienti partem veli aperit. In Dominicis vero, a I Vesperis usque post secundum Completorium et sub Officio de Sanctis, manet apertum.* *Ordin.* 1949, part 2, cap. XIV, no. 895, pp. 238-9.

⁶ *Cantatur Passio ut pridie, in qua, dum canitur Et velum templi scissum est, acolythi dimittunt aut revolvunt velum quod pendet ad Sanctuarium et idem post Vespas ex toto auferuntur.* *Ibid.*, cap. XVI, no. 926, p. 248.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, cap. XXXIII, p. 55.

the first prayer only. The missal of 1900 has a prayer before the procession: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui Dominum nostrum*. When the hymn *Gloria laus et honor* has been sung in the procession, and the doors of the church have been opened, the abbot intones the antiphon *Ave Rex noster*. This is repeated three times and all genuflect (three times), while the cross is uncovered.¹ After the procession the ministers change from dalmatic or tunicle to folded chasubles. There is no reference to this change of vesture in the ordinaries of 1622 and 1628, but the *ordinarius* of 1739 says: . . . *Abbas solito more paratus cum diacono et subdiacono indutis dalmaticis violaceis, quarum loco ad missam . . . assumant planetas plicatas*. . . .² The Passion is customarily sung by a single deacon. The prostration by the choir at the passage relating to the death of our Lord has been prescribed since the second half of the 13th century.

Triduum Sacrum. The arrangement of the *Triduum sacrum*, which is given in *Ordo romanus antiquus*, has been preserved almost intact in the Premonstratensian *ordinarius*. The conclusion of the night office (*tenebrae*) on these three last days of Holy Week, with its litanic chant, trope and antiphon, alternated by groups of singers, dates from about the 10th century. Similar, but not exact texts, existed at Cîteaux, Laon, Senlis, Rheims, St. Denis, and St. Cornelius at Compiègne.³

HOLY THURSDAY

The liturgy, as on Ash Wednesday, begins with penitential psalms and prayers, a survival of the ancient rite of the reconciliation of penitents. The officiant and his assistants prostrate before the altar: the abbot in tunicle and dalmatic; the deacon and sub-deacon in girded albs. The customary vestments are worn at Mass, but the processional of 1787 directs that they should be red in

¹ Ibid., *Processionale* (1932), pp. 60-1. The 13th-century customary directs a genuflection to be made at *Ave Rex noster*, *Fili David* and *Redemptor mundi*. Op. cit., no. XIV, p. 7.

² *Ordin.* (1739), p. 338; cf. *Ordin.* (1949), sect. II, cap. XVI, no. 917, pp. 244-5.

³ Cf. Carmelite rite, in which the same tropes are sung as in the Church of Paris in the 12th century. *Vide* John Belet (ob. post 1165), *Rat. Div. Offic.*, CII; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCII, col. 108.

colour.¹ There is no *Gloria in excelsis* on this day, and a hand-bell is rung during the *Kyrie*.² The omission follows the *Ordines Romani*, where it is noted that the *Gloria* is sung only at a Mass in which the holy oils are blessed.³ A similar absence of the *Gloria* is found in John of Avranches (*ob.* 1079) and in the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc.⁴

The abbot goes to the throne when he has said the *communio*, and vespers with its five psalms follow, but the altar is not censured at the *Magnificat*. At the conclusion of the canticle, the celebrant returns to the altar for the postcommunion. A solemn procession of the Blessed Sacrament to the altar of repose was prescribed in the 17th century.⁵ The mediaeval *ordinarius* directed only that the Eucharist should be reserved in a suitable place, with a light burning before it.⁶

On the return of the procession, the high altar is washed, and commemorations are made in honour of our Lady, St. Norbert, etc.

GOOD FRIDAY

It was formerly the custom to receive Holy Communion on each of the days of the *Triduum sacrum*: *His tribus diebus sacerdotes et ceteri qui voluerint communicant*.⁶ The missal of 1578 permits the practice on Good Friday: *Fratres qui potuerint, cum Praelato communicent, sed non discalceati*. Communion on this

¹ Cf. Ambrosian rite. *Usus* II (no. XXII) directed the bells to be rung after compline the night before. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

² The neo-Gallican missal, introduced at Lyons in imitation of the Paris missal in 1771, directs the bells to be rung at *Pax Domini*: *Non dicitur Gloria in excelsis, nec . . . nisi in Missa in qua consecratur Chrisma . . . Dicto Pax Domini, pulsantur usque ad Sabbatum Sanctum*.

³ Cf. Hereford missal (1502): *Si episcopus celebraverit, dicatur Gloria in excelsis*.

⁴ *Gloria in excelsis Deo minime dicatur, nisi episcopus missam celebret et chrisma faciat*. Edit. David Knowles (Thos. Nelson, 1951), p. 30. Cf. Bernard of Cluny (1067) II, XV, 311.

⁵ *Finita communione, abbas sumat Eucharistiam in crastinum reservatum, et in vasculo ante notato honorifice recondat seorsum in pulchro et honesto scrinio, ubi lucerna deinceps accensa ardeat usque in diem sequentem dum resumatur*. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXXIV, p. 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. XXXIV, pp. 58-9. Cf. *Constitutions of Lanfranc*, edit. Knowles (1951), p. 30.

day was very general at one time,¹ but it is no longer given, either in the Order or elsewhere.

During the singing of the Passion two of the brethren were directed by the old *ordinarius* to 'tear off' the two altar cloths *in modum furantis* at the words *partiti sunt vestimenta mea*.² A similar custom existed in some of the Benedictine monasteries, and at Lund (1514) we read that two acolytes vested in chasubles removed the cloths *in modum furantis rapte*, and hid them under their vestments.³ The deacon, not the subdeacon, says *Levate* in the solemn prayers, and before the final ending of the prayer. There is no *Levate* in the Lund missal (1514), and the faithful kneel throughout the prayers.⁴

The veneration of the Cross⁵ is begun behind the altar on the epistle side, and concluded at the step (*ante gradus*) before the altar. The reproaches (*improperia*) are shorter than those in the Roman rite, and the responsary *Dum fabricator* is sung. All genuflect at the *Sanctus* in the trisagion. The celebrant and the subdeacon do not remove their chasubles for the veneration.

The missal of 1578 does not prescribe any prayers in the Mass of the Presanctified before the *Pater noster*, but directs the priest to raise the Host and chalice (*sublevans corpus Domini cum calice*), as he says: *Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus*, etc.⁶ In the actual rite, the Host is elevated before the prayer, and the embolism is said silently.

The mediaeval *ordinarius* says that the wine is sanctified by the holy bread, but not consecrated, when the particle is put in the chalice,⁷ whereas the missal of 1578 has the rubric: 'Here the wine is consecrated by the body of the Lord.'⁸

¹ E.g. Corbie, Cluny, Dijon, Bec. The Danish missal of Lund (1514) says: *communicat ipse: et alii qui volunt* (fo. 90).

² *Ordin.*, cap. XXXV, p. 63. Cf. *Hac expleta (Passione) statim duo diaconi nudant altare sindone, quae prius fuerat sub evangelio posita, in modum furantis. Ord. Rom. I, 34; Pat. Lat., t. LXXXVIII, col. 953.*

³ Fo. 85. Cf. Metropolitan church, Milan, at the words *Emisit spiritum*.

⁴ Fo. 87v. The chapter of the cathedral church was Premonstratensian. Norbert Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, t. I, p. 269.

⁵ The cross is veiled in black. The processional of 1787 says: *Crucem velo vel nigro, vel rubeo, juxta morem Dioecesis coopertam.*

⁶ The *Pater noster* is said in a medium voice: *mediocri voce dicat.*

⁷ *Sanctificatur enim vinum non consecratum per panem sanctificatum. Ordin.*, cap. XXXV, p. 64.

⁸ *Hic consecratur vinum per corpus Domini.*

HOLY SATURDAY

The liturgy has many variations from the Roman rite. The new fire is blessed at the step of the altar,¹ with the priest in a violet cope, deacon in a white dalmatic, and subdeacon in a violet tunicle. The 13th-century customary of Prémontré prescribed silk copes for the cantors.² A single prayer was provided for the blessing of the fire in the missal of 1578: *Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens*, but the actual missal gives also: *Domine sancte, Pater, omnipotens aeternae Deus. Veniat quæsumus, omnipotens Deus* is said at the blessing of the grains of incense. *Lumen Christi* is not said, and there is no incense. The deacon is directed in the customary of Prémontré (*usus* I) to make a cross with his hand at the words *in honore nominis tui consecratur* in the *Exultet*.³ The paschal light is lit from a candle held by a cantor in a violet cope.⁴ A chart is attached to the paschal candle, inscribed with the names of the Supreme Pontiff, bishop, abbot and king. The dates of the moveable feasts for the current year were at one time included, as we find in the Cistercian rite.⁵ The candle remains alight until after vespers on Easter day. It is lit also for the offices during Eastertide on *celebers* (semi-double) and feasts of higher rank, and it burns continuously from first vespers of the Ascension until after compline on the following day. The altar lights and those of the acolytes are lighted from the new fire during the *Exultet*.

The four lessons, read by religious in copes, are the same as in the Sacramentary of Hadrian—*In principio, Vigilia matutina, Apprehenderunt, Haec est hereditas*.⁶

If there is a baptismal font, the litany is begun on the way to the baptistery, and concluded on the way back to the altar.⁷ The

¹ *Ad gradus presbiterii*. Lefèvre, op. cit., cap. XXXVI, p. 65.

² Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus* I, no. XVII, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Cereus paschalis pergrandis secundum consuetudinem loci*, Ordinaries of 1622, 1739 and 1949.

⁵ *Anni Domini et epactæ et concurrentes ac indictiones in cartula a cantore scribantur, et ipsa cartula cereo ipsa die benedicendo affigatur*. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXXVI, et 66.

⁶ Cf. Amalarius, *De eccles. offic.*, lib. I, cap. XIX; Hittorp, op. cit., col. 343-4. Four lessons are recited also on the Vigil of Pentecost.

⁷ The procession sometimes proceeds to the baptistery by way of the cloisters.

customary of Prémontré, compiled in the 14th century, directs the litanies to be sung by two priests in silk copes, after the tract *Sicut cervus* and the collect *Concede quesumus*.¹ The arrangement of the litanies is given also in the reformed ordinaries of 1622, 1628,² 1739³ and 1949.⁴ The processional of 1787 provides a shortened form of litany, omitting the invocations to the saints, for use in churches where there is no font. The *Gloria in excelsis* in the Mass is preintoned to the celebrant by a cantor in a cope,⁵ and the 12th-century *ordinarius* prescribes bells to be rung for the duration of the chant.⁶ The *Offertorium* and *Agnus Dei* are omitted, and a rubric in the *ordinarius* of 1739 forbids the organ to be played in their stead.⁷ The 14th-century customary directs the prior, subprior and hebdomadary to cense the choir,⁸ as soon as the *Pater noster* is begun. The missal of 1578 says that the reception of Holy Communion on this day is not of precept, but that it may be given to those who wish for it.⁹

EASTERTIDE

The prose for Easter Day in the mediaeval *ordinarius* was *Fulgens preclara*,¹⁰ but it was changed to *Vicime Paschali* in 1622. The Premonstratensian text with its extra verse (*Credendum est magis soli*) represents the original text.

Two alleluias are said after *Ite missa est* in the octave of Easter, and one during the remaining days of Eastertide.

A description of vespers does not lie within the scope of this book, but second vespers of Easter and of the days within the Octave include a procession to the baptistery to which some reference should be made.¹¹ The office begins with a ninefold

¹ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . . , no. XXV, p. 54.

² *Ordin.* 1628, p. 250.

³ *Ordin.* 1739, p. 370.

⁴ *Ordin.* 1949, Part 2, chap. XIX, no. 979, p. 265.

⁵ The *Magnificat* in vespers is also preintoned.

⁶ *Campane pulsantur dum finiatur.* *Ordin.*, cap. XXXVI, p. 67.

⁷ *Offertorium et Agnus Dei non dicuntur, nec eorum loco sit pulsus organi.* *Ordin.*

(1739), p. 371.

⁸ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . . , no. XXV, p. 54.

⁹ *Neque enim communicatio ex praecepto ordinis, nisi sunt qui peterint.*

¹⁰ The ancient ordinary of the cathedral church of Laon prescribed half of the prose to be sung at Mass and half at vespers: *Sequentia Fulgens preclara, medietas ad missam, altera pars ad vespas.* *Ordinarium Ecclesiae Laudunensis a Lisiardo Decano* (12th century). *Ordinaire de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Laon.* Ulysse Chevalier (Paris, 1897), p. 121.

¹¹ *Vide* Appendix VI.

Kyrie, three psalms and a gradual, after which a procession is made to the baptistery or nave of the church.¹ The rubric says: *Deinde procedendo ad navim Ecclesiae*. A fourth psalm is sung in the baptistery (nave), and a fifth before the entrance to the choir under the 'triumphal cross'. The form of office has special reference to the newly baptised. If the church has no font or the baptistery is too small, the two final psalms are sung before the entrance to the choir. The religious, since the 17th century, have worn copes for these last two psalms.² The provincial chapter, held at Grantham in 1492, had directed silk copes to be worn by the religious for the procession into the nave of the church during vespers of Easter, as previously there had been a diversity of usages in the English houses: some had worn albs and others copes.³ The procession to the baptistery follows an ancient Roman tradition, which seems to have been introduced north of the Alps in the time of Charlemagne. It became popular in the churches of France and Germany, notably at Strasburg.⁴

During Eastertide, the conventual Mass (*summa*) of Sunday is always that of Easter, and the matutinal Mass that of the Sunday occurring. All the Masses, even those of the Saints, have a double alleluia: the first of the feast, and the second of the Resurrection. The customary (*usus I*) directed the cantors on the first three days of Easter week to wear silk copes for the singing of the gradual and alleluia.⁵ The litanies on the feast of *St. Mark* and the *Rogation Days* are recited *after* Mass.

Four lessons are sung on the *Vigil of Pentecost*, as on Holy Saturday, and a private Mass may not be of the Vigil, but of one of the Sundays after Easter. The 14th-century customary (*usus II*), imitating the practice on Holy Saturday, prescribed bells to be rung at the conventual Mass for the duration of the *Gloria in Excelsis*.⁶

The feast of the *Holy Trinity* has been observed since the end

¹ The baptistery is rarely large enough for the whole community.

² The religious wear copes also in the procession before Mass.

³ Gasquet, *Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. I, p. 170.

⁴ Martène, *op. cit.*, t. III, col. 509.

⁵ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus I*, no. XVIII, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Usus II*, no. xxxiv, p. 68.

of the 12th century, but the Octave, which ended on the Saturday following was suppressed in the 17th century. The *summa* on the Friday and Saturday of the Octave was of the Holy Cross and the Blessed Virgin respectively. In 1492 the provincial chapter at Grantham ordered the feast to be celebrated as a triplex of the first order. There are twenty-five Sundays *post octaves Pentecostes*.

CORPUS CHRISTI

The general chapter of 1322 prescribed the observance of the feast of Corpus Christi as a *duplex precipuus*, with a procession before Mass, and a solemn octave admitting no other feast below the rank of a double. In 1479 the provincial chapter at Leicester issued instructions as to the ceremonial, etc., to be observed in the English houses.¹ The practice of giving Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament several times at the Mass and vespers of the feast seems to have originated in the 17th century. It was given at *Ecce panis*, *Pange lingua* and at the end of Mass: also before and after vespers. The processional of 1787 prescribed Benediction at each of the stations in the procession, on the return to the church, and after Mass;² while on the days within the octave there might be exposition at the conventual Mass, with Benediction afterwards, if it was customary.³

SANCTORAL

A similarity exists between the Premonstratensian and Dominican calendars, but it is uncertain whether this was due to their mutual approximation to the Gregorian books or whether the Black friars made use of the list of the White canons by way of comparison.

Feasts are divided into five classes—triples, doubles, *celebers* (semi-doubles), nine lessons and three lessons. Triples of the first, second and third class originated with the reform in the

¹ *Sacramentum Corporis Christi, Dominici nostri Salvatoris, ab omnibus prelati nostri Ordinis reverenter ut deferatur circa claustrum vel alias cimiterium in processione, cum duobus ad minus torticiis sive ceroferariis a dextris et a sinistris ipsius prelati, cum sudario cooperto honestiori modo quo facultas eorum locorum se extendere valeat in hac parte, prima die ipsius festi. Collect. Ang.-Prem., vol. I, p. 149.*

² *Process., 1787, pp. 78-91.*

³ *Ibid., p. 91.*

17th century. The further division of third-class triples and doubles into 'majors' and 'minors' was suppressed by the general chapter in 1947. At the end of the 12th century the greater feasts numbered twenty-eight, rising to fifty-six by the end of the 16th century: with fifty-nine today.

FEASTS OF OUR LADY

Purification of our Lady (Candlemas): 2 February

The *usus* compiled at the beginning of the 14th century directed that if the feast should fall on either Sexagesima or Quinquagesima, the conventual and matutinal Masses should be of the feast, with one collect, but if it was Septuagesima, the matutinal Mass was to be of Sunday, with three collects.¹

Three short prayers are said today at the blessing of the candles: (1) *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui hodierna die*; (2) *Domine Jesu Christe, lux vera*; (3) *Domine Jesu Christe, qui hodierna die*. They are found in the missal of 1578, but only the first two prayers occur in the mediaeval *ordinarius*. *Exaudi, quaesumus Domine, plebem tuam* is said before the procession.

Usus I (mid-13th century) directed the sacred ministers to hold their candles at the gospel, the deacon also at *Ite missa est*, the subdeacon at the epistle, and the cantors whenever they were required to intone anything. All carried them on the return to the sacristy.² The custom of holding candles was extended to the choir in the 17th century.

Annunciation of our Lady: 25 March

Usus II (early 14th century) directed that if the feast of the Annunciation should fall on Palm Sunday or any day up to Easter, it was to be anticipated on the Saturday before Palm Sunday.³

Visitation of our Lady: 2 July

The feast was prescribed as of triple rite with a solemn octave by the provincial chapter held at Lincoln in 1476.⁴

¹ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . ., no. XIX (*Usus* II), p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, no. XI (*Usus* I), p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, no. XXI (*Usus* II), p. 49.

⁴ *Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. I, p. 141. The same chapter directed the feasts of St. George (23 April) and St. Anne (26 July) to be observed as doubles.

Assumption of our Lady: 15 August

An alternative collect was provided by both the 12th-century *ordinarius*¹ and the missal of 1578: *Famulorum* or *Veneranda*.

Conception of our Lady: 8 December

The sermons on the Nativity of Mary by Adam, abbot of Dryburgh and later a Carthusian of Witham (*ob.* 1213–14), make no mention of the Immaculate Conception,² and the doctrine is formally denied by Philip of Harvengt, abbot of Bonne Espérance (*ob.* 1183): 'The Virgin like everyone else was by nature the child of wrath. . . . Because according to nature she had been conceived in sin. . . .'³ It is only at the end of the 13th century, about 1269, that the doctrine is clearly taught in the sermons of Robert de Wimpy: 'The Virgin has been preserved from all original and actual sin.'⁴ The feast was introduced in 1322 with the same Mass (change of title) as on the feast of the Nativity of our Lady (8 September).

Votive Masses

The missal of 1578 gives two votive Masses of the Holy Tears⁵ and two of the Compassion of our Lady.⁶

A separate epistle and gospel for a Mass for the dead are given in the missal of 1578 for each of the days of the week.

The mediaeval sanctoral was similar to that in many of the calendars of the time. It included St. Vaast, bishop of Arras (6 February); St. Clotilde, queen of France (3 June); St. Claude, archbishop of Besançon (6 June); St. Medard, bishop of Noyon (8 June); SS. Crispin and Crispinian (25 October); and St. Eloi, bishop of Noyon (1 December). The reception of relics was sometimes the reason for the insertion of a name in the calendar: e.g. St.

¹ Lefèvre, *op. cit.* (12th century), cap. LIII, p. 95.

² *Sermones fratris Adae*, edit. Gray Birch, London, 1901.

³ *Virgo autem ut caeteri naturaliter filia fuit irae . . . Quae quoniam in peccatis naturaliter concepta.* *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCIII, col. 459.

⁴ *Caruit enim culpa et originali et actuali.* *Bibl. Laon*, MS. 282, fo. 33, cap. II, V; François Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1947), chap. VIII, p. 255.

⁵ Fo. 46v–7; fo. 47v–8v.

⁶ Fo. 44–5; fo. 45–6v. The missal is numbered wrongly, with two folios 44.

Ursula and companions¹ (21 October) and St. Gereon (10 October), whose relics were given to St. Norbert in 1121.²

The heart of St. Roger de Bileghe, bishop of London (1229-41), who was canonised in 1249, was translated to Beeleigh (Maldon) in Essex, but there is no evidence for the observance of his feast there.

St. John Baptist (24 June), patron of Prémontré, had three Masses in the 12th century: Vigil (*Ne Timeas*); matutinal Mass (*Justus ut palma*), which was given up in the 17th century; and conventual Mass (*De ventre*) with a proper prose (sequence).

St. Peter and St. Paul (29 June) was even richer in Masses: Vigil (*Dixit Dominus*); Mass of the feast (*Nunc scio*); Mass for the days in the Octave (*Mihi autem*); and Mass of the Octave day (*Sapientiam sanctorum*).

St. Laurence (10 August) had a Vigil Mass (*Dispersit*); matutinal Mass (*Probasti*), which since the end of the 12th century has been reserved for the Octave day; and a Mass of the feast (*Confessio*).

All Saints (1 November) has had a solemn octave since the 13th century. A procession in albs before the Mass probably originated at the end of the 12th century. There was a proper sequence and the preface of the Trinity.

All Souls (2 November), if it fell on a Sunday, was commemorated on that day until the reform in the 17th century.

Dedication of the Church. The feast was observed with a procession in albs before Mass, a proper sequence and the preface of the Trinity. From the 13th century it was customary to have the asperges before the procession, with the Eastertide antiphon *Vidi aquam*.

It is interesting to note that some of the prayers in the common of saints in the traditional missal were found also in the missal of the Gilbertine rite.³

¹ Cf. Cistercian rite.

² Later, a gift of the relics of the brothers Ewald established a feast on 3 October.

³ E.g. collect, secret and postcommunion 'for abbots'; secret and postcommunion in the first Mass 'for many confessors'; collect, secret and postcommunion in the second Mass 'for many confessors'; collect, secret and postcommunion in the Mass 'for a virgin not a martyr'; collect in the votive Mass 'pro tentatis et tribulatis'.

The following saints are included today in the calendar: St. Gerlac, conf. (14 January); B. Godfrey (16 January); B. Hugh, abbot (10 February); St. Evermode, bp. and conf. (17 February); B. Frederick, abbot (3 March); St. Ludolf, bp. and mart. (29 March); Conversion of St. Augustine (5 May); Translation of St. Norbert (7 May); B. Herman Joseph, conf. (8 May); Translation of St. Nicholas (9 May); Triumph of St. Norbert (Sat. after Oct. of Corpus Christi); Commem. of Death of St. Norbert (6 June); St. Isfrid, bp. and conf. (15 June); SS. Adrian Beckan, James Lacops and Comp., martyrs of Gorcum (9 July); Solemnity of St. Norbert (11 July); B. Hroznata, mart. (19 July); B. Gertrude of Altenberg, abbess (13 August); Death of St. Augustine (28 August); B. Bronislava of Poland, virg. (30 August); SS. Ewald, mart. (3 October); Translation of St. Augustine (11 October); St. Gilbert, abbot (26 October); All SS. of the Order (13 November); Relics in Churches of the Order (14 November); St. Siard (17 November). The Solemnity of St. Norbert was approved by Gregory XIII for 6 June in 1578, but as the day was liable to clash with the octaves of Ascension, Pentecost or Corpus Christi, it was assigned by Urban VIII to 11 July in 1625.

Blessed Gertrude of Altenberg, whose feast is kept in the Order and in the diocese of Trier on 13 August, was one of the first to introduce the solemnity of Corpus Christi into Germany, and obtained permission for its observance in 1270. Her feast was granted to Altenberg¹ by Pope Clement VI (1342-52).

DAILY MASSES

The celebration of three daily Masses, all of which, if possible, should be sung solemnly, is prescribed by the statutes in 1290: *Missa de Beata* early in the morning; *Missa Matutinalis* between prime and the chapter of faults; and *Missa summa major* after terce. The three Masses were approved by Pope Clement VI (1342-52), and confirmed by Gregory XV (1621-3), and their

¹ Altenberg, a convent near Wetzlar in the diocese of Trier (now Limburg) was founded in 1179. It is not to be confused with the Cistercian abbey of the same name, founded near Cologne in 1133.

celebration is of obligation in all houses where there are at least seven priests. *Missa de Beata* is offered for abbots and superiors; *Missa Matutinalis* for deceased brethren, sisters and benefactors; and *Missa summa major* for the abbey and the Order.

The Mass of our Lady does not appear in the first manuscripts of the *ordinarius*, and seems to have been introduced in the 13th century. It was celebrated in some houses with a certain degree of solemnity, and bequests for its maintenance appear in the cartulary of Mondaye.¹ Several missals provide sequences for this Mass, and at St. Martin's Laon it was customary to sing *Monstra te esse matrem*.² The statutes of 1290 direct novices to leave the choir in order to assist at the *Missa de Beata*, which, by reason of studies or some other work, is permitted to be said and not sung. The concession was repeated in the statutes of 1630 and 1770. The provincial chapter, held at Lincoln in 1489, directed that the Mass was not to be omitted on Christmas Day, Easter or Pentecost, and that it was to be said daily throughout the octaves.³ The present practice is to omit the Mass *de Beata* on triples of the first and second class.

The *Missa Matutinalis* was established in the 12th century as a Mass for the dead, but on *celeber*, double and nine lesson feasts, it is customary to have a low Mass of requiem, with the sung Mass either of the feast or of Sunday.

The ceremonial of this Mass is normally reduced to its simplest form: one assistant in a surplice suffices, as he is not required to carry either a torch or censer; a single candle is lighted on the altar; if there are sacred ministers, they are to be vested in albs without dalmatic or tunicle; while, even on great feasts, there is no prose (sequence).⁴ If, however, the celebrant is a person of consequence, or it is either a solemn anniversary or the first day after the death of a member of the community, two lights on the altar are permitted, with a further two carried by acolytes, and incense may be used.⁵ The 13th-century customary of the mother

¹ Diocese of Lisieux, today Bayeux.

² François Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés* . . . (Paris, 1947), part II, chap. V, p. 232.

³ Gasquet, *Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. I, pp. 163-4.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. V, pp. 14-15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

house directed that the Mass at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, when the lay brothers normally received Holy Communion, should be celebrated by the prior or subprior. Incense might be used both at the gospel and the *sacrificium* (offertory), and those receiving Communion were censured.¹

The *Missa summa major* or conventual Mass may be, if it is not a feast, either a votive Mass or the Mass of the preceding Sunday.

The three Masses respond logically to the three offices recited in choir.²

The *Little Office of our Lady* was established by John II de Rocquigny, nineteenth abbot of Prémontré (ob. 1269). It is still, as with the Reformed Cistercians, recited in choir, but the Office of the dead has been suppressed.

PRIVATE MASSES

St. Norbert, like St. Bernard, was accustomed to offer the holy Sacrifice every day: *quotidie sacrificia medullata offerens*. The practice, however, was by no means general in the early days of the Order, and at Prémontré, where the community numbered nearly five hundred, there were no more than nine altars; while at St. Martin's Laon, with a similar number of religious, we find seven. The proportion of lay brothers was certainly large, but, even so, it would have been impossible for all the priests to say Mass every day.³ Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, however, was evident from the title of the first chapter of the statutes of 1290: *De tremendo altaris sacramento*.

The celebration of Mass in granges⁴ (*curiae*), which at first had been forbidden to the Cistercians, was permitted to the White canons, and layfolk were allowed to receive the sacraments. Churches formed part of the original endowment of all the English houses,⁵ although, as we have seen, they had been forbidden in the first statutes of the Order, unless they could be

¹ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . . , *usus* I, no. XLIII, p. 21.

² The three Masses were celebrated daily in the royal chapel of St. Louis (ob. 1270).

³ François Petit, op. cit., part. II, chap. V, p. 232.

⁴ *Curia* was the Premonstratensian term for the Cistercian *grangia*.

⁵ H. M. Colvin, *White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), part IV, 2, p. 272.

transformed into abbey churches (c. 1140). Pope Clement III (1187-91) had permitted three or four priests to be sent into a parish, and in England, at least, we find canons as 'perpetual vicars' in a number of churches appropriated to Premonstratensian abbeys.¹

REQUIREMENTS FOR WORSHIP

The first chapter of the *ordinarius*, which has the title *De reverentia circa altare*, directs the altar to be adorned with clean accessories, which may be changed on festivals for more precious ornaments.² The general chapter of 1630 says: *altaria debita niteant puritate*.

LIGHTS

The *ordinarius* permitted five lamps in the church: three before the altar, one in the choir, and one for the conversi. There should always be one, at least, alight.³ *Usus* I (mid-13th century) prescribed seven lamps on doubles, five on *celebers*, and three on feasts of nine lessons.⁴ In respect to candles, the *ordinarius* required two on the altar for Mass on feasts, with a further two behind the altar: *Qui duo etiam ad missam ardebunt, cum aliis duobus tantum retro altare*.⁵ Two acolytes carried portable lights. On ordinary days there was a single candle on the altar, and, at the conventual Mass, a second one was carried by an assistant: *unus ministrorum, accensa una candela super altare, aliam candelam candelabro superpositam accendat*.⁶ *Usus* I prescribed three candles in the middle of the presbytery on triple feasts, with two on doubles.⁷ Two candles were required on the altar for Mass on the highest rank of feast, with an additional two above the altar: two only were prescribed on doubles.⁸ Individual abbots were permitted on triple feasts to add to the number of candles.⁹ A single portable candle was enjoined on days below the rank of

¹ Ibid., 2, p. 283.

² *Altare ipsum mundis operimentis semper maneat adornatum; quod etiam, cum aliqua festivitas occurrerit, honestiori et preciosiori, si habetur secundum differentiam festivitatis, ornamento decorari poterit.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. I, p. 5.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . . (Louvain, 1933), no. I, p. 1.

⁵ Ibid., cap. I, p. 5. ⁶ Ibid., cap. IV, p. 8. ⁷ *Coutumiers* . . . , no. I, p. 1.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

double, but two were prescribed by the ordinaries of 1622, 1739 and 1949 for nine lesson feasts, *celebers*, days within the octaves of triples of the first class and on festivals of the Blessed Virgin (not in 1622), as well as for votive Masses, with the exception of those of the Holy Spirit and the Holy Cross, 'otherwise', says the *ordinarius* (1949), 'one (acolyte) ministers with a candle, and the other with the thurible'.¹

The high altar now has the customary six candles, with two, four or six lighted at the conventual Mass according to the day. The candles of the acolytes may be one or two, and a standard candle, at the epistle side of the altar, is lighted at the beginning of the canon and extinguished at the *communio*.

VESTMENTS

A general admonition regarding the sacred vessels, vestments and coverings for the altar is given in the *ordinarius*: *Vasa, vestimenta, linteamina ad Altaris ornatum vel ministerium parata nulli alii usui cedant, sed omnia munda ad quod facta sunt, debent conservari*.²

Vestments, in the early days of the Order, were of the simplest character, although there does not seem to have been the same austerity as with the Cistercians. The Munich manuscript of the *ordinarius*, dating from the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, says: *Cappe autem serice et casule unius coloris erunt, et palle altaris sine imaginibus. In capellis autem, que in grangiis nostris sunt, nulla cappa serica habebitur, nec etiam casula, nisi ubi sorores habitant, una tantum et unius coloris*.³ The introduction of a colour sequence (1228-36) produced more elaborate vestments, and we find the 12th-century prohibition of silk embroidery on albs relaxed a century later, although there was never a display of magnificence, such as existed in many of the larger Benedictine abbeys.

¹ Ordin. 1949, part I, cap. IX, art. 8, no. 423, p. 122. Cf. Ordin. of 1739, part I, cap. XIV, 8, no. 2. Cf. John of Avranches (ob. 1079): *Unus qui cantet graduale et desert candelabrum, alter qui cantet Alleluia et ferat thuribulum. De eccles. offic.; Pat. Lat., t. CXLVII, col. 33.* This was still the custom at Rouen in 1651.

² Part I, cap. VIII, art. I, no. 219, p. 55 (1949).

³ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. II, p. 6.

Following the Rhineland tradition, the primitive statutes speak of the 'fanon',¹ whereas the statutes of 1290 and 1503 revert to the more general term of 'maniple'.

It was customary on great solemnities in the 17th century for the religious to wear silk copes for the procession, but in the following century the number of such days was reduced to two. On feasts, the canons in choir had surplices,² and on Holy Thursday they received Holy Communion in albs and stoles.³ The acolytes wear either albs or surplices. With the passing of the centuries, the ceremonial became more elaborate, and we read that the provincial chapter at Lincoln in 1489 was attended by prelates with festal copes and croziers 'for the greater honour and service of God'.⁴

The use of the mitre by abbots of the Order was by no means general in the Middle Ages, and there is no evidence that it was ever worn in Great Britain, Ireland or Scandinavia. A solitary exception appears to have been the prior of the cathedral priory of St. Martin and St. Ninian at Whithorn in Galloway (Scotland), who was granted the use of a white mitre without precious stones (*albam mitram non gemmatam*) in 1450.⁵ The canons of Whithorn wore a surplice and violet cope from Easter Eve till All Saints, when they changed their attire to an open black cope and a sleeveless rochet.⁶ In 1673 the general chapter conceded the 'title, mitre and rights of the abbots of Souleseat' (Scotland) to the abbots of Hamborn in the Rhineland,⁷ but the chapter was apparently unaware of the fact that there never had been a mitred abbot of Souleseat!

The first recorded concession of the use of a mitre to a Premonstratensian abbot in middle Europe seems to have been made to Gottschalk I, abbot of Knechtsteden in the Rhineland (1216-1226), and about the same time also to Wichmann, provost

¹ Luykx, *Essai sur les sources* . . . , p. 9; cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium Manuale*, t. III (Halle, 1774), pp. 473-4; Leroquais, *op. cit.*

² Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. II, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. XXXIV, p. 59.

⁴ Gasquet, *Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. I, p. 161.

⁵ *Calend.*, *Papal Letters*, X, p. 470; Backmund, *Monast. Prem.*, t. II, p. 114.

⁶ Martin Geudens, *Sketch of the Premonstratensian Order in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1878), p. 18. ⁷ Backmund, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 166; t. II, p. 110.

(*praepositus*) of Magdeburg (1210–28). It would appear to have been the intention of St. Norbert to have a provost rather than an abbot as the superior of a house, and the title was very general in the countries of Eastern Europe. Later, the majority of houses replaced the provost by an abbot, but Saxony retained the title of *praepositus*, and regarded the old name as a mark of distinction and honour. Many of the provosts in the early days carried a T-shaped staff in place of a crozier. Some houses, however, were granted the use of *pontificalia* before they had abbots, while others were conceded the mitre, etc., on the change of title.

It is possible that a mitre was included in the *pontificalia* which King Hugh III (1267–84) obtained for the abbot of Bellapais in Cyprus. The king was a great benefactor of the Order, and had granted the abbot permission to wear a sword and golden spurs.¹ On the other hand, a mitre and ring were expressly omitted from the insignia of the 12th-century abbot of St. Samuel near Jerusalem, who was one of the six ‘suffragan’ abbots of the Latin patriarch, although he appears to have had the use of a crozier: *qui porte croce (? crosse) et non mitre ne anel*.²

By the 16th century the majority of abbots in Germany, France, Belgium, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Italy and Spain were already mitred, although we find exceptions even here, and it was not before 1717 that Matthias Widmann, abbot of Neustift (1692–1721) in Upper Bavaria, was granted the use of a mitre.³ In 1657 the ‘title and mitre’ of the abbots of Ildfeld in the Harz mountains were given to the abbots of Leffe in the Ardennes, since the German abbey had been appropriated by the Lutherans in 1546.⁴

Abbesses, especially in the German and Polish houses, adopted the use of a crozier and pectoral cross.

CHOIR HABIT

In the 15th century some of the English houses discarded the white habit for the black vesture of the Austin canons, but they

¹ Ibid., t. I, p. 400.

² *Book of John of Ibelin*, chap. CCLXI; ap. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois I, Assises de Jerusalem I*, Paris, 1841; Backmund, op. cit., t. I, p. 405.

³ Backmund, op. cit., t. I, p. 43.

⁴ Backmund, t. I, p. 128.

were reprov'd in the chapter held at Northampton in 1454.¹ The statute, however, seems to have been disregarded, and a later provincial chapter (? 1485) forbade the use of black, except for hats (*pileis*) and shoes (*galeris*).² Again in 1500 the visitation report at Titchfield found it necessary to condemn the wearing of a black habit ornamented with black tassels (*liripipiis*).³ Similar trouble was experienced in Scotland, where Edward, abbot of Souleseat, is said to have been ordered by King James IV to restore the correct dress of the White canons.⁴ Certain sartorial concessions, however, were granted to the English houses, and in 1400 Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) permitted the religious of Easby in Yorkshire to have linen rochets under their copes or capuces and black birettas, like the Austin canons.⁵ The provincial chapter, held at Northampton in 1454, sanctioned the use of rochets in church, and allowed prelates to wear black skull-caps.⁶ The headgear approved in a statute of 1505 took the form of a simple round hat, although depending for its use on the permission of the abbot.

The Spanish reform (1570-3) changed both the shape and the colour of the habit, but the canons were directed by Pope Clement XI (1700-21) to conform to normal Premonstratensian practice.⁷

The White canons of Magdeburg wore the distinctive dress of canons regular—rochet and black cope—but for the recitation of the Office they followed the use of the cathedral church. A similar privilege was conceded for the Office at Gottesgnaden (*Gratia Dei*) in the same diocese.⁸ The provost of Magdeburg, who was also archdeacon, was permitted the use of gloves (*chirothecae*) in 1191, and full *pontificalia* in 1227.⁹ In 1403 *propter coelum asperum*, the canons of Boerglum in Denmark were allowed to wear a black habit.¹⁰

¹ Gasquet, *Collect. Ang.-Premonstr.*, vol. I, p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 152.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 135.

⁴ The irregularity was the wearing of rochets under capes and the use of black birettas. Kirkfleet, *op. cit.*, part III, p. 179.

⁵ Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 235-6.

⁶ *Ubique pileis nigris uti poterit.* *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 129-30.

⁷ Hugo, *Vie de Saint Norbert*, p. 345; Helyot, *Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux*, t. V (edit. Migne), art. *Prémontrés*, col. 277.

⁸ Petit, *op. cit.*, chap. III, p. 52.

⁹ Backmund, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 232.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, t. I, p. 267.

The choir habit of the Order consists of surplice, almuce, and biretta in summer: rochet, *cappa* and hood in winter. The almuce of white fur, which is so distinctive of the canonical habit, is not mentioned in either the primitive *ordinarius* or in the statutes of 1290. Its use is enjoined at the provincial chapter held at Lincoln in 1476,¹ and in the visitation at Barlings (Lincs) in 1478 the religious were directed to wear almuces under their *cappas*.² The statutes of 1505 said that 'the almuce, which we wear whenever we put on an alb, should be white, of lamb's wool or some other simple and unassuming fur'.³ Aged canons received two almuces: one to cover the shoulders; the other to warm the feet. Somewhat similar directions were given by the general chapters of 1630 and 1647; while that of 1770 says: 'It is correct that the almuce should be white in colour, but flecked with black stitches, at least the canonical church does not admit of a different usage'.⁴ The almuce does not seem to have been worn prior to the 14th century, and it was never used in Spain. The general chapter of 1666 directs it to be worn on the left arm at Mass and vespers on Sundays and feasts; while the chapters of 1717 and 1738 confirm its use in France for all the Offices between prime and vespers inclusive on every day during the summer.

Today, in summer, the deacon wears an almuce as he goes to the altar for the conventual Mass, and then takes it off. He resumes it for the gospel, at the conclusion of which it is placed at the epistle end of the altar. The deacon takes it finally after the ablutions. The restored Congregation of France did not adopt the almuce.

The present practice of wearing a white biretta is comparatively modern. The statutes of 1630 and 1739 make no mention of the biretta as an essential part of the canonical habit, although a regulation says: *Byretis albis juxta regionis morem utantur*.⁵ Black birettas were prescribed by the general chapter of 1657, but blue were permitted for doctors at a public assembly or

¹ Gasquet, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 143-4.

² *Semper sub cappis utantur almicus*. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 31-2.

³ Stat. 1505, d. 2, cap. *De vestitu*.

⁴ Stat. 1770, d. 2, cap. XX, no. 2.

⁵ D. 2, cap. XIX, no. 19.

academic gathering. In the following year the general chapter directed the use of a biretta in choir from Easter till All Saints, a prescription confirmed by statute in 1770. The general chapters of 1717 and 1738 order a biretta to be worn in the house, as well as in church.

rites and ceremonies of Mass

The text of the *Ordo Missae* in the last traditional missal of the Order (1578) is given in an appendix.

Here it will suffice to describe the old ceremonial, which the 'reformed' books of the 17th century have retained in the Roman (Pian) Mass.

asperges

The *ordinarius* of 1949 follows closely that of 1739, prescribing the rite, not only on Sundays, but also before the processions on Ash Wednesday, St. Mark, Rogation Days and the feast of the Ascension. The following form is observed: the celebrant turns first to the Sacrament house, if the Blessed Sacrament is not reserved on the high altar, and sprinkles it. Then, having aspersed the altar, he makes a circuit of it, where this is practicable. This done, the cross is sprinkled, and the aspergil handed to the deacon and subdeacon. The crucifer is aspersed, and, on double feasts, the assistants also.

A procession is prescribed on all Sundays and triple feasts, in the following order: acolyte with holy water; crucifer with the figure of the cross turned towards the community *more archiepiscopo*, and preceded on doubles by two taperers and a thurifer (two on triple feasts); sacred ministers; and, lastly, the community. Stations are made before entering the choir and at the step of the sanctuary.

introit

The entry for the conventual Mass is made during the psalm verse of the introit, and on feasts, when the versicle is repeated three times, after the second repetition. One or two acolytes are

required, according to the day, and the subdeacon carries the gospel-book.¹

The missal of 1578, in respect to Christmas, says: *Introitus ad omnes tres missas post versiculum bis repetitur, et semel post Gloria Patri*. The following directions are given in the reformed ordinaries: 1622: *In festis triplicibus ac duplicibus inter psalmum et Gloria Patri ipse introitus reiteratur usque ad medium, idque tantum pro missis solemnibus*. 1739: *At in festis triplicibus, duplicibus, ac votivis solemnioribus inter psalmum et Gloria Patri, introitus ipse reiteratur usque ad medium, aut divisionem commodam*.² This threefold repetition of the introit is found also in the Carmelite rite (Old Observance) and in that of the diocese of Braga. Lebrun mentions it as existing in the Churches of Rouen, Sens and Laon in the early 18th century.³

PREPARATORY PRAYERS

The *Confiteor* has by way of an addition: *sanctis patribus Augustino et Norberto*. The acolyte stands during these prayers holding his candle, and when two servers are required, they face inwards, one on either side of the sacred ministers. The candles are put down at the beginning of the *Kyrie*, as prescribed in *Ordo Romanus II*.⁴

INCENSATION

On *ferias* there is no incense after the preparatory prayers, but on a lesser double the celebrant, kneeling with the ministers on the foot-pace, censens with three double swings; while on triples, greater doubles and more solemn votive Masses the cross and altar are censured *more Romano*.⁵

¹ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 359, p. 99.

² *Ordin.*, 1739, cap. XIII, p. 116; *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 359, p. 99; cap. IX, art. VIII, no. 423, p. 122.

³ Lebrun, op. cit., t. I, p. 163.

⁴ *Et continuo acolythi ponunt cereostata in pavimento ecclesiae, quatuor quidem in dexteram partem, et tria in sinistram, vel (ut alii volunt) lineatim ab austro in septentrionem*. O.R. II, n. 5; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXXVIII, col. 970. *Ordo Romanus II* dates probably from the time of the general introduction of the Roman liturgy into Gaul, that is about the beginning of the 9th century.

⁵ The 13th-century customary of the Mother House prescribed the censuring of the altar after the *Confiteor* on all double feasts. Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, usus I, no. IV, p. 4.

KYRIE and GLORIA

It seems to have been the custom in the Order from the earliest days for the priest to say privately what was sung by the choir. The *Kyrie* is said in the middle of the altar, with the deacon on the right of the celebrant, and the subdeacon on the left. A cantor in a cope preintones the *Gloria in excelsis* on great feasts. If it is not either Advent or Lent, the *Gloria* is recited in votive Masses of the Holy Trinity, Holy Spirit, Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady, 'Our Holy Father Saint Norbert', Holy Angels, and the Patron Saint of the house.

After the words *suscipe deprecationem nostram* the acolytes go to the sacristy, and the first server takes the chalice and the second the cruets. They are brought into the church during the first collect, unless it should be necessary to assist the subdeacon at the reading of the epistle, in which case it is during the *Kyrie*.¹ If the first server is not in orders, the chalice is held in a linen cloth (*muffula linea*). The vessels are placed on the credence, if it is a triple or double feast; otherwise in the centre of the altar.²

COLLECTS

The corporal is spread by the deacon during the collects or the gradual, whichever may be the more convenient.³ The mediaeval *ordinarius* directed the deacon to wash his hands before unfolding the corporal at the offertory: *diaconus, lotis manibus, displicet corporale*.⁴

The deacon is told explicitly not to face the people at *Dominus vobiscum*: *diaconus non cum eo se convertat*,⁵ and he is directed to

¹ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VIII, no. 429, p. 124.

² . . . *in credentia modo relinquit, si duplex aut triplex vel solemne fuerit; et vero alias in medio altaris ponit.* *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 166; Cf. *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 377, p. 105.

³ On the ferias in Holy Week, when there is a Passion, the corporal is sometimes spread towards the end of the lesson, e.g. Postel, Spy Wednesday, 1948.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9. It was the custom for the deacon to turn round according to *Ordo Romanus VI* (O.R. VI, 5; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXXVIII, col. 991): *Et pontifex se ad populum, Pax vobiscum dicturus, convertit, diaconi simul cum eo se conversuri sunt.* This was done also at Bayeux and Salisbury.

raise the edge of the chasuble: *sed reverenter ei trahat medium casule seorsum*,¹ unless, as at a basilican altar, the celebrant does not turn round. The raising of the vestment was customary in the Cistercian rite,² and also at Bursfeld and Soissons, where it was done by the subdeacon. There is no mention of the practice in the ordinaries of the 17th century, but that of 1739 says: *Diaconus flexis genibus fimbriam anterioris partis casule ori applicatam reverenter osculatur*.³ The actual *ordinarius* (1949) repeats the 1739 rubric,⁴ but the custom is very generally disregarded.

EPISTLE

The epistle is sung by the subdeacon, who stands between two acolytes and faces the people. At a sung Mass without assistant ministers, the priest may either sing the epistle himself or depute a reader vested in a surplice: *vel potius in loco consueto aliquis lector superpelliceo indutus*.

CHANTS

The missal (1900) gives five sequences or proses, as in the Roman rite, but the White canons have a prose for Christmas (*Laetabundus*) and omit the *Stabat Mater* (Sorrows of our Lady), although this has been added since to the missal. The mediaeval *ordinarius* provided about fifty proses,⁵ but their numbers were greatly reduced in the 'reformed' books: eleven in 1622, thirteen in 1628,⁶ and five in 1739. Proses were not sung normally on the days within the octave of a feast, but the Ninove manuscript of the 14th-century customary directs the prose, beginning at the words *Ecce panis*, to be recited during the octave

¹ The visitation report at Sulby (Welford, Northants) in 1482 says *Ac eciam quociens se verterit sacerdos versus chorum, diaconus genu flectendo casulam manu protrahere semper procuret*. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 109.

² *Post Dominus vobiscum, diaconus trahat ei reverenter deorsum medium casule. Lib. Us.*, cap. LII.

³ *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 165.

⁴ Cap. IX, art. VI, no. 365, p. 101.

⁵ The prose for St. Ursula (*Virginalis turba sexus*), at one time popular in the churches of Germany, was composed by Blessed Herman Joseph, a religious of Steinfeld (ob. 1241). Petit, *op. cit.*, chap. VII, p. 3. The 12th-century ordinary of Laon had fifty-four proses.

⁶ Proses for St. John Baptist and the Dedication were restored.

of Corpus Christi.¹ From Septuagesima till Easter the tract *Qui confidunt* takes the place of *Veni sancte* in votive Masses of the Holy Spirit, and in the same period *Ab ortu solis* for votive Masses of the Blessed Sacrament. At other seasons, the second half of *Lauda Sion* is prescribed.²

GOSPEL

The rites connected with the singing of the gospel have preserved the main features outlined in the *Ordines Romani*, notably in *Ordo Romanus* II.³ The abbot, if he is present, blesses the incense for the gospel, but not for the offertory. The deacon asks a blessing, but he does not kiss the hand of the celebrant, unless he is the abbot.⁴ The gospel, according to the mediaeval *ordinarius*, is announced, with the signing of forehead and breast only,⁵ but this was changed in 1739, and the *ordinarius* of 1949 says specifically: *in fronte, ore et pectore*.⁶ The celebrant was enjoined in the traditional rite to 'stand with fear' (*cum tremore*), a monition borrowed from the Cistercian *us*,⁷ and reminiscent of the Eastern liturgies. One or two taperers assist at the gospel, which is sung either from an ambo or facing west. The mediaeval *ordinarius* directed the deacon, at the conclusion of the gospel, to kiss the book before the celebrant, unless he was a bishop or abbot: *Quod dum perlegerit diaconus, osculetur prius, nisi episcopus vel abbas (missam cantet), et tunc tradat subdiacono*.⁸ The injunction was omitted in the *ordinarius* of 1739, but it has been restored in the new edition (1949).⁹ The portable lights were formerly extinguished after the gospel, and not re-lit until the conclusion of the *Pater noster*: *perfecto evangelio, in parte deferens ante altare,*

¹ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . ., *Usus* II, no. LXIII, p. 92 note.

² *Ordin.*, 1949, part 2, cap. IV, art. 3, no. 675, p. 182.

³ O.R. II, 8; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 971-2.

⁴ The deacon, says a visitation report at Duford (Hants) in 1491, should bow, never bend the knee, when asking a blessing. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 196.

⁵ *Et cum dixerit Sequentia sancti Evangelii, signet se in fronte et in pectore tantum. Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 9.

⁶ Cap. IX, art. VI, no. 372, p. 103.

⁷ Cap. LII.

⁸ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 10. Cf. Carthusian rite, in which the deacon is forbidden to kiss the book before the priest.

⁹ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 373, p. 104.

*usque post Pater noster ibi extinctam relinquat.*¹ Today the candles are permitted to burn throughout the Mass.²

On feasts,³ when the creed has been intoned by the celebrant, each member of the choir kisses the closed gospel-book⁴ and is censed. On greater doubles and triples, the censuring is done by the deacon, and on other days by the thurifer. The *ordinarius* of 1622 says: *in utroque choro . . . osculandum praebebit*, which has been expanded in the edition of 1739: *in utroque clausum (textum) in imagine desuper affixae osculandum praebet, dicens (subdiaconus) singulis: Haec est lex Christi; illis respondenibus: Corde credo et ore confiteor*. An almost similar rubric is found in the *ordinarius* of 1949.⁵ The responses appear for the first time in 1622.⁶

CREED

The Dilighem manuscript of the 13th-century customary prescribes a genuflection from *ex Maria Virgine* until after *et homo factus est*.⁷ The actual practice is for the genuflection to be made from *Et incarnatus est* until *Et resurrexit* (exclusive), as we find in some of the ancient Roman missals and in that of the obsolete Benedictine rite of Tibães.⁸ The custom appears also in a 16th-century missal of Bayeux (1545),⁹ and at Lisieux, Clermont and in the books of the religious of the Holy Cross in the early 18th century.¹⁰ The first reference to the sacred ministers sitting in the sedilia for the *Gloria* and Creed seems to be the *ordinarius* of 1622, and the direction was repeated in 1739. In the traditional rite it

¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, p. 9; Cf. *Ordo Romanus* II (O.R. II, 9; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 972): *Post lectum evangelium, candelae in loco suo extinguuntur*. Also, *Ordo* of Monte Cassino (Martène, op. cit., t. IV, col. 143): *Finito evangelio extinguendae sunt ipsae duae candelae ab acolythis in loco*.

² *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VIII, no. 431, p. 125.

³ Nine lessons. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 10.

⁴ Cf. *Ordo Romanus* VI (O.R. VI, 7; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 992), a simplification of *Ordo Romanus* II (O.R. II, 8; *Pat. Lat.*, ibid., col. 972), in which both clergy and people are directed to kiss the book. The abbot kisses the open book. Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus* I, no. XXXIV, p. 15.

⁵ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 376, pp. 104-5.

⁶ Cf. Rouen missal (1737), Paris missal (1738).

⁷ *Brussels Bibl. Roy.*, MS. 3956-3960. Op. cit., *Usus* I, no. I, p. 24, n.

⁸ A Portuguese Benedictine rite (1647), very similar to Braga.

⁹ De Vert, op. cit., t. III, part I, chap. IV, p. 126, n. 2.

¹⁰ Lebrun, op. cit., t. I, pp. 259-60, n. 5.

was customary for the sacred ministers to sit from the epistle until the gospel: *Interim sacerdos usque ad evangelium cum ministris suis sedere poterit.*¹

OFFERTORY

The ancient ceremonies connected with the making of the chalice have been described in the appendix. Today the corporal is spread on the altar during the creed, unless it has been done previously. The rubric directing the deacon to wash his hands before unfolding the corporal was omitted in the reformed ordinaries.

The book-stand is placed on the altar before the offertory, as the missal had been previously on the *mensa*. On feasts, when the vessels are on the credence, the subdeacon in a humeral veil brings them to the altar. Water is added to the chalice with a spoon, and in the old rite this was done by the deacon.² The mediaeval *ordinarius* is silent as to the prayer to be said at the addition of the water, but it seems probable that the formula was originally *De latere*, and that it was changed to *Fiat commixtio* about the middle of the 13th century.

INCENSATION

The thurifer kneels as the celebrant puts on the incense. It appears unlikely that there was any fixed prayer in the Middle Ages for the blessing of the incense. The missal of Schlägl (12th and 13th centuries) gives the following form, but the text is incomplete: *Placare, Domine, hoc thyiamate, et miserere nostri parcens peccatis nostris, et presta, ut bonus.*³

No prayer at the censuring of the altar is given in either the old *ordinarius* or the last traditional missal (1578). The ordinaries of 1622 and 1739 introduced the Roman method of censuring the *oblata* and altar on days above the rank of greater double, while retaining the traditional form on other days: when the *oblata* have been censured, the celebrant at the step of the altar censes the cross

¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 9.

² The wine was poured into the chalice by the subdeacon at the beginning of the Mass.

³ Fo. 104v0. Schlägl was in the diocese of Passau, now Linz.

and each end of the altar with three swings.¹ The sacred ministers (deacon and subdeacon) are censed later in the Mass, even if it is a feast day, and there is no censuring of the choir.

The chasuble is held by the deacon during the censuring: *Diaconus vero, posita manu sub ascella, teneat ei casulam, ut expeditius possit agere.*²

ORATE FRATRES

The old *ordinarius* directed the deacon at *Orate fratres* to cense the priest, and at the same time to raise the chasuble: *Quem conversum diaconus thurificet, et trahat ei deorsum medium casule.*³ One of the very few differences in the text of the actual missal occurs in the response to the *Orate fratres*: *Suscipiat Dominus hoc sacrificium.*⁴

The subdeacon, if the sacred vessels have been brought straight from the sacristy to the altar, now takes the humeral veil.

PREFACE

In the ancient rite the censuring by the deacon took place during the secrets,⁵ but the *ordinarius* of 1739 directed that this should be done at the time of the preface. The celebrant changes from a 'high voice' at the *per omnia* of the secret to a chant for the dialogue preceding the preface. The *ordinarius* of 1622 prescribed the holding of the paten by the subdeacon in almost the same terms as we find in the actual Roman rite, but the edition of 1739 enjoined a practice which seems to have been peculiar to the mother house: *In ecclesia Praemonstratensi diaconus a dextris celebrantis stans, in principio praefationis acceptam manu dextra*

¹ The old *ordinarius* says: *facta cruce desuper, circumvolat ter calicem, deinde dexteram partem altaris semel, semel et sinistram desuper tantum, semel quoque anteriorem thurificet.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 10. Cf. John of Avranches (*ob.* 1079): *incensum desuper offerat*, and of the deacon: *in circuitu altaris.*

² Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 10. The deacon was directed to hold the chasuble at Chezal-Benoît, Bursfeld and in the Cistercian *us.*

³ Lefèvre, *ibid.*, pp. 10-11. Cf. *Liber Ordinarius* of Liège (13th cent.) and Carthusian rite.

⁴ The Pian missal omits the word *hoc*.

⁵ Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 11. In 1478 a visitation report at Cockersand (Lancs.) says: *In majori missa, post offertorium ante calix incensetur, diaconus circuit altare ante et retro incensando.* Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 112.

*patenam paulatim elevat ad Sursum Corda, et eandem modeste deprimit ad voces Domino Deo nostro; ab subinde descendit, eam traditurus in manu subdiaconi, ut supra. Et hic usus potest in aliis quoque ecclesiis introduci.*¹ The new *ordinarius* (1949) has retained the usage: during the *ekphonesis* of the secret, the deacon takes the paten from the altar, and from the words *Sursum corda* till *Domino Deo nostro* he elevates it in his right hand. The paten is then given to the subdeacon, who wraps it in the humeral veil.² A similar custom prevailed at Amiens in the 18th century. Claude de Vert, in commenting on the handing of the paten to the subdeacon at the beginning of the preface, says: *Et de là vient aussi, sans doute, l'usage presque universel de faire tenir la patène élevée par le sousdiacre pendant tout le Canon. Que d'effets du Sursum!*³ The deacon was directed in the mediaeval *ordinarius* to hold the missal during the preface,⁴ but he is occupied today with the censuring. The *ordinarius* of 1622 makes no mention of censuring by the deacon, but the practice was restored in the edition of 1739, and given its present position: the deacon, standing behind the celebrant before the altar, censes three times towards the left and three times towards the right. Then, wherever this is possible, he makes the complete circuit of the altar, censuring the while. If the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, the deacon three times censes the 'Sacrament house' (*aedicula venerabilis Sacramenti*) on his knees. This censuring of the Eucharist may have been in the mind of the compiler of the traditional *ordinarius*: *altare quod retro positum est.*⁵ Finally, the deacon censes the subdeacon, gives the thurible to the acolyte, and is censed himself.

The Order never had more than the ten prefaces prescribed by the Roman Church: *Decem prefationes tantum, ex romana auctoritate susceptas tenemus.*⁶ The common preface is used on the Sundays in Advent and the Sundays from the Octave of the Epiphany till Passion Sunday; while the preface of the Holy Trinity is reserved for the Sundays between Trinity and Advent,

¹ *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 175.

² *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 381, p. 107.

³ *Op. cit.*, t. I, rem. sur chap. III, p. 222.

⁴ *Diaconus vero accedens ad altare, teneat librum apertum coram sacerdote usque dum praefationem compleverit. Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. IV, p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. X, p. 19.

when the office is of the Sunday, and for the feasts of All Saints and the Dedication.

The *Benedictus* is sung normally after the Consecration, following the present Roman usage, but, where it is the custom, it may be sung in its traditional position, immediately after the *Sanctus*.¹

CANON

A standard candle is lit at the beginning of the canon in the conventual Mass on the epistle side of the altar, and extinguished at the *communio*. The more primitive practice of bowing at the words *Hanc igitur*² was changed in the ordinaries of 1622 and 1739 to that of spreading the hands over the oblations.

One or two elevation torches, according to the number of the acolytes, are brought into the sanctuary before the Consecration. They are taken out after the elevation of the chalice, except at pontifical Masses on great feasts, when they remain until the beginning of the *Pater noster*. At low Mass, a candle is lit at the elevation—*cereus ad elevationem Sacramenti accendendus*—but the direction is very generally disregarded.

The celebrant, according to the mediaeval *ordinarius*, takes the host into his hands at the words *Qui pridie*, and elevates it slightly.³ The rubrics respecting the Consecration, with the exception of the ringing of the bell and the adoration of the choir, were taken almost verbatim from Cîteaux, but the Roman rubrics were adopted by the ordinaries of 1622 and 1739.

At the end of the 15th century the custom had become very general in England for the deacon to kneel at the Consecration, and for the celebrant to genuflect. The rubrics of the Order permitted the priest to genuflect before the elevation of the Host, but elsewhere we find the prescription: *reverenter inclinant*.⁴ No less than ten of the visitation reports of Bishop Redman are

¹ *Post Elevationem, Cantores stantes subjungunt Benedictus qui venit, etc, nisi jam ante Elevationem cantatum sit, juxta locorum consuetudinem.* *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. IX, no. 440, p. 128.

² Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.* A similar slight elevation for the chalice.

⁴ Cf. Titchfield, 1478. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 126.

concerned with this 'abuse' of genuflecting.¹ The ringing of a bell at the Consecration seems to have been a further instance of the practice of the mother house (Prémontré) extending to the other houses of the Order. The ordinaries of 1622 and 1739 say: *secundum uniuscujusque ecclesiae morem*.² Injunctions for one of the large bells of the church to be rung at the time of the elevation of the Sacrament are found in three of the late 15th-century visitation reports of Bishop Redman.³

The provincial chapter, held at Grantham on 30 April 1492, directed two ministers in albs, on all double and triple feasts, to cense the Blessed Sacrament continuously from the elevation of the Host until the priest extended his arms at *Unde et memores*.⁴

The Cistercian custom, originating in France, of singing *O salutaris hostia* after the Consecration exists in many churches, but a recent general chapter has expressed the desire to discontinue it. An unsuccessful attempt was made at the recent revision of the *ordinarius* to restore the old rubrics for *Unde et memores*⁵ and *Supplices te rogamus*,⁶ but it was felt that the gestures prescribed were too singular for a public church. It is difficult, however, to see why the extension of the arms in the form of a cross should cause more *admiratio* in a Premonstratensian church

¹ E.g. Titchfield, 1478 (ibid., III, 126); Langley, 1491 (ibid., III, 24); Torre, 1491 (ibid., III, 151); Welbeck, 1491 (ibid., III, 191); Barlings, 1494 (ibid., II, 38); Cockersand, 1494 (ibid., II, 121); Coverham, 1494 (ibid., II, 143); West Dereham, 1494 (ibid., III, 221); Dale, 1497 (ibid., II, 184); Titchfield, 1497 (ibid., III, 134). At Coverham (1494) and Titchfield (1497), the deacon is directed to raise the chasuble at the elevation.

² *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 222.
³ Titchfield, 1478 (ibid., III, 126); Hagheby, 1491 (ibid., II, 231); Cockersand, 1494 (ibid., II, 122).

⁴ *In omnibus festis tam duplicibus quam triplicibus ad maiorem missam in elevatione Hostie et Calicis, duo ministri albis induti, easdem tam Hostiam quam Calicem jugiter thurificent, inde non cessantes quosque executor officii ad 'Unde et memores nos Domine' pervenerit, et manus more extensas deponat.* Gasquet, op. cit., vol. I, p. 172. Cf. Dominican rite.

⁵ *Paulo altius extendat brachia et palmas suas, non tam attendens cautelam in conservandis digitis suis quam representans memoriam et conformitatem dominice passionis.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 11. Cf. *Deinde extendit manus in modum crucis*, Missal, 1578. *Extensis manibus*, *Ordin.* 1949.

⁶ *Incurvet se ante altare, cancellatis manibus in modum crucis.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.* Cf. *Profunde inclinatus, cancellatis manibus*, Missal, 1578. *Inclinat se ante medium altaris, manibus junctis super illud positus*, *Ordin.*, 1949.

than in one served by Dominicans or Carmelites! The *Micrologus* (c. 1100) is the first document to mention this characteristic gesture at *Unde et memores*,¹ and the Premonstratensian rubric depends from it, without suggesting any direct borrowing.² The extension of the arms in the form of a cross was very general in the Middle Ages.

The Roman rubrics respecting the little elevation at the end of the canon were adopted in 1608.

PATER NOSTER

An instructive ceremony takes place during the Lord's prayer at the conventual Mass. It is not found in any manuscript copy of the *ordinarius* or missal, nor in the reformed ordinaries of 1622 and 1628. It appeared in the *ordinarius* of 1739, as a custom of the mother house of Prémontré, which might be extended to other churches: *In ecclesia Praemonstratensi diaconus receptam a subdiacono patenam elevat, donec eam tradat celebranti*.³ The usage has been retained in the *ordinarius* of 1949.⁴ The deacon receives the paten from the subdeacon at the beginning of the Lord's prayer, and, with his right hand, elevates it from the words *Panem nostrum quotidianum* till the conclusion of the prayer. This 'invitation to Communion' occurs also in an ordinary of Bayeux (beginning of the 14th century) and in the mediaeval uses of Sarum, Bangor and York.⁵

PATER NOSTER TO THE COMMUNION

The *ordinarius* of 1739 adopted the Roman rubrics of the missal of Urban VIII (1623-44) respecting the embolism, and the priest kisses the paten at the word *pacem*. The precise moment when the sign of the cross should be made with the paten was not indicated in the mediaeval *ordinarius*. The following rubric occurs in the

¹ *Microlog.* Cap. XVI, *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLI, col. 987: Hittorp, op. cit., cols. 740-1.

² Luykx, *Essai sur les sources*, etc., XI, pp. 38-9.

³ *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 177.

⁴ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 385, pp. 108-9.

⁵ *Hic* (after *audemus dicere*) *accipiat diaconus patenam, eamque a dextris sacerdotis extento brachio in altum usque Da propitius discoopertam*. William Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (London, 1846), p. 104.

missal of 1578: *Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris (Hic osculatur patenam faciendo crucem): ut ope misericordie tue adjuti et a peccato simus semper liberi (Hic signat se cum patena in fronte) et ab omni perturbatione securi.*¹

From *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum* till the *Agnus Dei* inclusive, the acolyte is directed to hold his candle, which, as we have seen, was not extinguished as heretofore.² The ceremony, expressive of the respect due to the rite of the fraction which took place during the *Agnus Dei*, is described in the old *ordinarius*: *Minister autem candelam extinxerat, reaccensam ad gradus referat dum dicitur Pax Domini, et eam verso vultu ad altare teneat cum reverentia usque Agnus Dei tercio percantetur, et tunc eam deponat.*³

The same text for the kiss of peace, with slight and unimportant variations, is found in the ordinaries of 1628 and 1739. The later book adds: *dicit singulis Pax tecum*. The priest gives the *pax* to the deacon in the customary way, but on double feasts another method is followed for the other assistants: when the celebrant is making his Communion, an acolyte presents a *pax-brede* (*instrumentum pacis*) to the subdeacon, who in his turn takes it to the abbot and the religious in choir. This *instrumentum pacis* sometimes takes the form of a small *agnus Dei* set in a relic case.

The Communion prayers, as indeed the whole rite of the Mass, are those of the Pian missal. The 'reformed' ordinaries of 1622,⁴ 1628⁵ and 1739⁶ maintained the custom of the deacon and subdeacon receiving Holy Communion at the conventual Mass on feasts. It was, in fact, an obligation on Sundays and triple feasts, and the editions of 1628 and 1739 directed a fast on bread and water for such as failed to comply with the injunction. Neither

¹ Missal of Parc (12th-13th century): *ut ope ✠ misericordie tue adjuti et a peccato ✠ simus semper liberi et ab omni ✠ perturbatione securi*. Fo. 115vo. Text of folios 105vo-132vo is of the 15th century, and was certainly written for the Order.

² *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 203; *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VIII, no. 434, p. 126.

³ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 12.

⁴ Fo. 48.

⁵ *Ordin.*, 1628, p. 100.

⁶ *Ordin.*, 1739, *Quo autem fratres juniores in spiritali vita magis solidentur, secundum Ordinis instituta, in omnibus dominicis et triplicibus, diaconi insuper et subdiaconi . . . ad summum altare de manu celebrantis communicare debent*. *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 106.

the primitive statutes nor those of 1290, 1505 or 1630 make mention of the punishment, but the minatory clause is found in a Grimbergen manuscript (1228-36) and also in a marginal addition to the 12th-century Munich manuscript, written in a hand of the 13th century.¹ This reception of Holy Communion by the ministers has unfortunately fallen into desuetude. The ablutions are taken *more Romano*, and, when the vessels have been adjusted by the subdeacon, an acolyte removes them to the sacristy. The last gospel found a place in the missal of 1578.

¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13, n.

APPENDIX

Notes on Obsolete Rites and Ceremonies

The legislative code is the *ordinarius*, which should be taken as the basis of the traditional *Ordo Missae*. As, however, the *Ordo* was not yet fixed, the celebrant was free, within certain limits, to choose the prayers, thus accounting for the diversity of formulas in the various manuscripts.

The *Ordo Missae* in the missal of 1578, which is given in a separate appendix, represents fundamentally the Mass of the late 12th and 13th centuries, with the addition of certain Communion prayers and the last gospel in the 16th century.

General and provincial chapters, and also the visitors to the several houses endeavoured to maintain liturgical unity, as may be seen from a visitation report of St. Radegunde's abbey near Dover (Bradsole) in 1494.¹ A similar report from Cockersand (Lancs) in 1478 forbade the celebration of conventual Mass without the assistance of deacon and subdeacon.² Leiston in Suffolk was reported by Bishop Redman, at the conclusion of a visitation in 1488, to be especially commended for the way in which the worship of the Church was carried out.³

The English provincial chapter, held on 13 August (?) 1487, directed that a *missa sicca* should be said after the conventual Mass, and 'before the altar': *Ab omnibus professis sive profitendis, et tam abbates quam subditi, devote dicant evangelia Missus est et Exurgens Maria cum offertorio et postcommunione illis pertinentibus, omni cum devocione et genuflectione in principio Misse ante altare, exceptis hiis qui majori matutinali et Misse sancte Marie ascribuntur, qui intus in vestibulo suis ministris assistentibus, dicere debent.*⁴ The obligation was recalled in several of the visitation reports of Bishop Redman: *Et omnibus dicte ecclesie fratribus precipimus quatenus evangelia Missus est et Exurgens*

¹ *Necnon eisdem tam abbati quam conventui, inhibemus, sub pena excommunicationis majoris, ne aliquem usum de servicio divino, preterquam quod in nostra religione consuetum est, quomodo exerceant.* Gasquet, op. cit., vol. III, p. 102.

² *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 112. In the same year, the visitor at West Dereham (Norfolk) demanded the assistance of a deacon at the daily Mass at the high altar. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 212.

³ *Quia ibidem pre ceteris nostri Ordinis monasteriis divinum servicium celebrius et laudabilius invenimus celebratum.* *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 102.

⁴ Gasquet, op. cit., vol. I, p. 156. The *missa sicca* is sometimes before the conventual Mass, and sometimes after.

*Maria cum genuum-fleccione cotidie ante altare dicant antequam casulam se induant.*¹

The washing of the hands before vesting for Mass is not prescribed in the old *ordinarius*, but the ceremony is authentically Rhineland and Premonstratensian. We have three characteristic witnesses to it, all of which are derived from the *ordines missae* of the 11th century. Their local traditions appear to have been different, but they date from the second half of the 12th century: (1) missal of Cologne;² (2) missal of the region of Aachen-Liège;³ and (3) the most ancient Premonstratensian missal extant, possibly coming from the mother house itself.⁴ The three missals have the same text in the same order for the prayers *ad vestimenta*, and the practice is found also in the missal of 1578.

The customary, compiled towards the middle of the 13th century for the use of the mother house of Prémontré, gives certain directions respecting processions: the deacon in the Sunday procession, unless it is a double feast, carries neither relics nor anything else;⁵ copes are to be worn by members of the community on solemnities;⁶ on triple feasts, two crosses, two thuribles and two portable lights are carried in the procession, while on double feasts a single thurible between the crosses and lights.⁷ The same compilation directs that during the introit at the conventual Mass on triple and double feasts all the bells shall be rung: on other days two only.⁸

The 12th-century Premonstratensian missal gives the following indication respecting the preparatory prayers:

Ante altare: Antiph. Introibo ad altare. Totum versum. Judica me Deus. Introibo. At the conclusion of the prayers, the priest kissed the altar and the cross depicted in the missal: *Tuam Crucem adoramus, Domine, tuam gloriosam recolimus Passionem. Miserere nostri qui passus es pro nobis.*⁹ If it had been inconvenient to say the *Confiteor* in its normal place, it was added after the prayer *Aufer a nobis*.¹⁰ The preparation of the chalice at the conventual Mass took place after the epistle, and at a private Mass before the preparatory prayers. The *ordinarius* says: *Interim etiam poterit subdiaconus calicem parare, si antea non paraverit.*¹¹ The priest was, however, directed, if he was at liberty, to place

¹ Coverham (Yorks.), 1494 (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 143). Cf. Hagneby (Lincs.), 1478 (*ibid.*, p. 227) and 1494 (*ibid.*, pp. 232-3).

² Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 215-16. *Paris, Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 12055.

³ MS. in abbey of Parc near Louvain.

⁴ Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 307-10; *Paris, Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 833.

⁵ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus* I, no. V, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. XLV, p. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. XLV, p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. XLV, p. 21-2.

⁹ Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés . . .*, chap. V, pp. 87-8.

¹⁰ Luykx, *Essai sur les sources*, p. 17.

¹¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 9.

the bread on the paten and pour the wine into the chalice earlier in the Mass, covering them in a seemly fashion (*mundissime cooperiens*).¹ Fr. Luykx considers this direction to be the result of Cistercian influence, as was also the formula for the blessing of the deacon before the gospel.² The complete rite for the preparation of the *oblata* thus consisted of three stages: (1) Before the Mass, the deacon and subdeacon prepares the altar and the matter of the offering; (2) After the epistle, the subdeacon makes the immediate preparation of the *oblata*; (3) After the creed, at the offertory, the deacon presents them to the celebrant.³ The *ordinarius* is silent as to a prayer for the blessing of the water, but it may well have been originally *De latere*, which, about the middle of the 13th century, was changed to *Fiat commixtio*. *Usus I* speaks of an offertory procession which took place on all double feasts after the epistle at the conventual Mass. Three ministers walk one behind the other: the first carries ewers (*phylae*) containing wine and water, the second, cruets (*ampullae*), and the third, the chalice. The ewers and cruets are placed on a specially prepared credence (*scamnum*) behind the altar, while the chalice, when it has been prepared, is put on the altar.⁴

The *oblata* were placed in the second fold of the corporal, as was prescribed in the Cistercian *us*,⁵ the host by the side of the chalice. The direction *ante calicem* appears for the first time in the Roman missal of 1485, and it is found in the Premonstratensian ordinaries of 1622 and 1739.

The celebrant washed his hands before the offertory, and the host and the chalice were then offered separately: *offerat prius patenam deinde calicem*.⁶ In spite, however, of this clear direction, the Parc missal of 1539⁷ and the missal of 1578 envisage a joint offering. The prayer *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* was said before the censuring, and served as the offertory prayer.

The traditional rite followed the *Micrologus*⁸ (c. 1100) in prescribing five signs of the cross in the doxology at the end of the canon, whereas there were four only in the Cistercian liturgy. The deacon, in view of the part that he was to play in the fraction of the bread for Communion, was directed by the *ordinarius* to wash his hands at *Per omnia*, and then to support the foot of the chalice, kissing the shoulder of the priest at the words *Oremus : Preceptis*, etc.⁹ In all this, the rite was

¹ Ibid.

² Luykx, op. cit. . . , III, pp. 18-19; IV, pp. 22-3.

³ Ibid., IV, p. 23.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . . , *Usus I*, no. XLVIII, p. 23.

⁵ Cap. LIII.

⁶ Lefèvre, op. cit., p. 10.

⁷ *Bibl. Royale, Brussels*, MS. no. II, 2347.

⁸ Cap. XIV; Hittorp, op. cit., col. 739-40; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLI, col. 988.

⁹ Lefèvre, op. cit. p. 12. Similar directions were found in the liturgical books of Bayeux, Soissons and Chalon sur Saône.

following the Roman-Rhineland tradition, as we see it in *Ordo Romanus* II¹ and *Ordo Romanus* VI,² with, however, the absence of a single detail: the celebrant is not ordered to touch the chalice with the Host.

The Host was held over the chalice from *omnis honor et gloria* till the beginning of the *Pater noster*, and the following rubric occurs in the missal of 1578: *Omnis honor et gloria: Hic tangat calicem cum oblata, et mutet vocem. Nec reponat hostiam super corporale, sed teneat eam super calicem, quousque pervenerit ad Panem nostrum, et tunc ostendat manu extensa, et elevata supra latus dextrum, magna cum reverentia, more matricis Ecclesiae Premonstratensis, ut adoretur Christus oblatus in hoc augustissimo Sacramento pro omnibus.*³

A 15th-century missal of the Order, probably from the abbey of Silli en Gouffern in the diocese of Séz and now in the municipal library at Alençon, directs the psalm *Laetatus sum*⁴ to be recited after the Lord's prayer *pro pace et pro tribulacione et pro domino rege nostro Francie*.⁵ The same psalm, with versicles and collects, was ordered to be sung in England at either the matutinal Mass or the solemn conventual Mass. Bishop Redman in his visitation complains that many of the houses fail to recite these prayers.⁶

The Host was held over the chalice during the *Agnus Dei*, and consequently the priest did not strike his breast.⁷ The following directions for the kiss of peace are given in the ancient *ordinarius*: *Qua finita (Domine Jesu Christi, qui dixisti) divertat os suum ad diaconum, osculans illum, et diaconus subdiaconum, sibi invicem supplicando, et subdiaconus similiter alium, si pacem quesierit, eundo ad gradum.*⁸ The formula at the *pax* appears to have varied. The missal of Schlägl, an abbey in the diocese of Passau, says: *Pax tibi et ecclesie Christi, omnique populo sancto Dei* (1255-64); the missal of Chötisshow in the diocese of Prague: *Habete vinculum caritatis et pacis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis misteris Dei. Amen* (1383). The latter form occurs in the missal of 1578, which also directs the deacon to respond: *Pax tibi, pater, et sanctae ecclesiae.*

The *ordinarius* does not give any prayer at the Communion of the priest: *Data autem pace, sacerdos dicat hanc orationem Domine Jesu*

¹ O.R. II, 10; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 974.

² O.R. VI, 11; *ibid.*, col. 993.

³ Fo. 146.

⁴ *Vulg. Psal.* CXXI.

⁵ Fo. 180, *Bibl. municip.*, Alençon, MS. 125; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 179. The same psalm and prayers are found in a missal of Séz of the second half of the 15th century. Fo. 138; *ibid.*, p. 162.

⁶ E.g. Torre, 1482 (*Gasquet, op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 147-8); Wendling, 1482 (*ibid.*, III, 202); Langley, 1491 (*ibid.*, III, 24); Stanley Park or Dale, 1497 (*ibid.*, II, 196); Sulby or Welford, 1500 (*ibid.*, III, 118).

⁷ De Vert (*op. cit.*, t. III, part I, chap. VIII, pp. 354-5) says that the priest held the Host at the *Agnus* and commixture, but after he had recited the prayers.

⁸ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 12.

*Christe, et sic sumat super patenam corpus Domini.*¹ The 13th-century missal of Schlägl contains the prayer *Perceptio corporis*, but it is written below the original text, and in a later hand. It occurs in the missal of 1578, *post perceptionem*.

The Host was given to the sacred ministers and the other communicants before the celebrant received the chalice.² The deacon kissed the hand of the priest before reception.

When the celebrant and deacon had taken the precious Blood, the *ordinarius* directed that the chalice should be offered to the other communicants by the deacon.³ The normal method of reception was direct from the chalice, but on great feasts, such as Easter, the three days preceding Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, when the whole community received Holy Communion at the hands of the abbot, a *fistula* or reed was used: *qui (diaconus) indutus alba et stola stans ad sinistrum cornu altaris, cum fistula argentea conventui sanguinem amministret, subdyacono patenam sub mente cujuslibet tenente*. A reference to the *fistula* is found in a 13th-century Grimbergen⁴ manuscript of the *ordinarius*, which reproduces an exemplar made between 1228 and 1236.⁵ It is not known when the practice of Communion in two kinds was given up, but it could not have been later than the 13th century. A large 'ministerial chalice' with two handles, together with two *fistulae* and a paten, were until recently in the possession of the abbey of Wilten near Innsbruck. They had been given to the house in c. 1160 by Count Berthold IV of Andechs (*ob.* 1204).⁶

The 12th-century Premonstratensian missal directs the ancient antiphon *Venite populi* to be sung during the general Communion on Easter Day.⁷ The antiphon,⁸ which is found in many manuscripts of the Middle Ages, is still sung on this day at Lyons and Milan (*transitorium*).⁹ Its history has been disputed, but it is generally considered to be of Eastern origin, and to have been adopted by the churches of Gaul and, perhaps, Milan.¹⁰ It was inscribed *In fractione* in some Roman manuscripts, and Dom Cagin thinks that it may have been a chant at the fraction, which was inserted in the papal Mass before Sergius I

¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴ Diocese of Cambrai (today Malines), about eight miles from Brussels.

⁵ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13, n.

⁶ The latest known example of the 'ministerial chalice'. It was sold to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna shortly before the Second World War (1939-45).

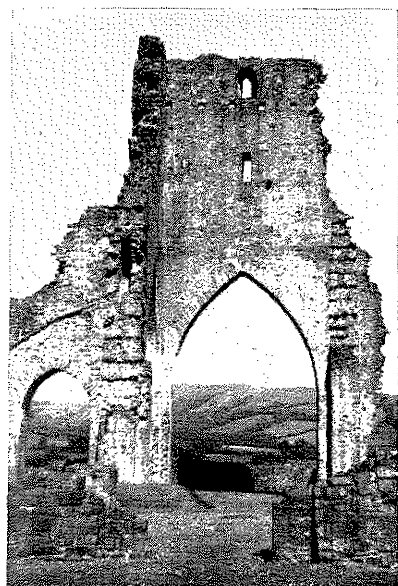
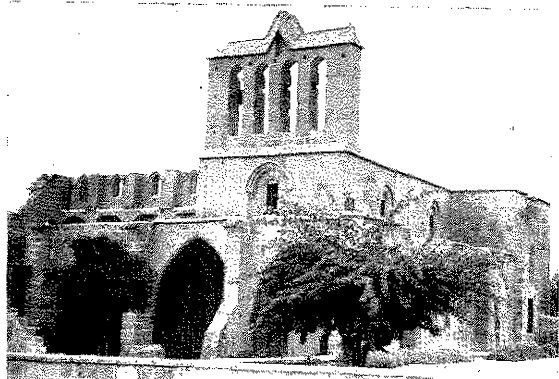
⁷ *Bibl. Nat. Paris*, MS. lat. 833; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 308.

⁸ *Venite, populi, ad sacrum et immortale mysterium, et libamen sumendum cum timore et fide accedatis*. . . .

⁹ The *transitorium* is a variable Communion chant in the Ambrosian rite.

¹⁰ It is found also in MSS. of Gregorian chant at Monza, Padua, Nonantola (near Mantua), Winchester, Canterbury and Echternach.

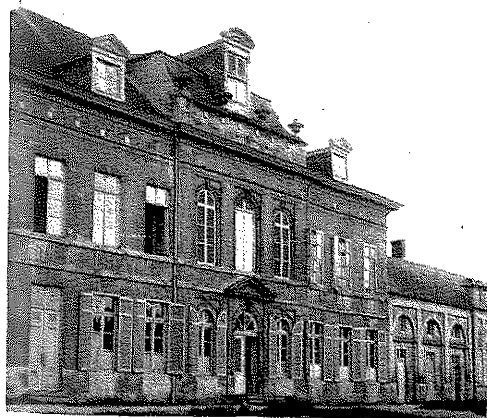
Bellapais, Cyprus
(13th century)



Talley, Wales



Gateway, Averbode



Abbot's Lodging, Diligheim
(18th century)



Sepulchral Slab, Abbot of Diligheim



Premonstratensian Canon
(Winter) Parc



Premonstratensian Canon
(Summer), Parc

(687-701) introduced the *Agnus Dei*.¹ The text is probably taken from a Byzantine tropary for Holy Thursday: *Δεῦτε λαοί*.²

At Averbode³ and some other churches, two verses, composed by Adam of St. Victor (12th century), were sung after Communion:⁴

Medicina Christiana
Salva nos; aegros sana
Quod non valet mens humana
Fiat in tuo nomine.

Assistentes Crucis laudi
Consecrator Crucis audi
Atque servos tuae Crucis
Post hanc vitam verae lucis
Transfer ad palatia.

The mediaeval *ordinarius* gives the following directions for the ablutions: immediately after Communion, the deacon folds the corporal,⁵ while the subdeacon pours wine into the chalice, which the celebrant rinses round and drinks. After which, in a second ablution of wine, the priest cleanses his fingers.⁶ The 13th century Grimbergen manuscript directs the priest to purify the paten with wine, and to cleanse his fingers: *postea aspergat vino patenam et infundat in calicem, deinde respergat digitos suos*.⁷ This washing of the paten has been ascribed to the commemoration of a miracle, which is said to have taken place in 1121 (1122), while St. Norbert was offering the holy Sacrifice at Floreffe:⁸ a drop of blood, from which a dazzling light proceeded, miraculously appeared on the paten.⁹ The alleged altar-stone on which the Saint was celebrating Mass is preserved in the high altar of the abbey church, now used for the diocesan seminary.¹⁰ The story may be considered 'edifying', but the custom of washing the paten prevailed in the old Cistercian rite,¹¹ from whence the White canons may well have taken it, and it was the practice also in the Benedictine abbey of

¹ *Paléographie Musicale*, t. V (Solesmes, 1896), p. 186.

² It was received by the Churches of Gaul in the same way as the *Aius* ("Αἴυος) or Trisagion, the Byzantine *Sanctus*.

³ Diocese of Cambrai, today Malines.

⁴ Petit, op. cit., chap. V., p. 88.

⁵ Cf. *Ordo Romanus* VI, 13; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 994.

⁶ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13.

⁷ Ibid., note.

⁸ Diocese of Liège, today Namur.

⁹ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXX, col. 1347.

¹⁰ F. Baix and C. Lambot, *La Dévotion à l'Eucharistie et le VII^e Centenaire de la Fête Dieu* (Namur, 1946), introduct., pp. 12-13; G. Madelaine, *Histoire de Saint Norbert* (Tongerloo, 1928), pp. 190-1.

¹¹ *Et postea accipiens fistulam abluat eam vino et postea patenam. Consuet.* Fulgence Schneider, *L'Ancienne Messe Cistercienne* (Tilburg, 1929), part II, 24, p. 211, n. 4.

St. Benignus, Dijon. 'Wine,' says St. Thomas Aquinas (*ob.* 1274), following Pope Innocent III (*ob.* 1216), 'by reason of its humidity, has a special cleansing quality.'¹ Finally, the priest washed his fingers with water, either in the piscina or in a basin, and dried them on a towel.² *Usus* I, while permitting the priest to use for the purpose either the chalice or a dish, forbade him to leave the altar.³ The deacon raised the chasuble at *Dominus vobiscum: trahat ei diaconus casulam et maneat incurvatus*.⁴ After the postcommunion, the subdeacon removed the sacred vessels to the credence (*ministerium*), where they were cleansed with water, and dried with a cloth.⁵ The Mass concluded with *Ite missa est* and a private prayer (*Placeat*), which the priest said 'alone without the deacon'.⁶

Ordo Missae in the Missal of 1578

The sequence of prayers is that of the missal, which, in common with many manuscripts, inserts a prayer wherever there may be a space on the folio, irrespective of its actual position in the Mass.

The prayers of 'St. Ambrose', St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure are among those which may be said by the priest before vesting.

Dum manus abluit: 'Largire sensibus nostris'.

Ad amictum: 'Humeros et pectus meum Spiritus sancti gratia protege Domine: renesque meos a vitiis omnibus absterge, ad sacrificandum tibi Domino Deo regnanti. Per Christum'.

Ad albam: 'Indue me Domine ornamento humilitatis, castitatis, et pacis: et circumda me lorica fortitudinis. Per Christum'.

Ad zonam: 'Lumbos meos zona justitiae circumcinge Domine: et circumda vitia cordis et corporis mei. Per Christum'.

Ad manipulum: 'Da Domine virtutem manibus meis ad abstergendum peccati maculam: ut mundo corde, et casto corpore tibi valeam ministrare. Per Christum'.⁷

Ad stolam: 'Stola justitiae circumda Domine cervicem meam: et ab omni corruptione peccati, purifica mentem meam. Per Christum'.

Dum casulam induit: 'Induit me Domine vestimento humilitatis, charitatis, et pacis: ut undique protectus atque munitus, valeam resistere vitiis et hostibus mentis et corporis. Amen'.

Post casulam: 'Judica me Deus, et discerne. Introibo ad altare Dei. Ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem meam'.

¹ *Vinum ratione suae humiditatis ablutivum. Sum. Theol.*, pars III, Q. LXXXIII, A. 5, ad 10.

² Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13.

³ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . ., *Usus* I, no. XL, pp. 18, 19.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14. The water was then poured into the piscina.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14. The last gospel found a place in the missal of 1578.

⁷ Cf. Prayer at the washing of the hands before vesting, in the missal of 1900.

Ad confessionem: 'Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, et beatæ Mariæ, et omnibus sanctis, et vobis fratres, quia peccavi cogitatione, locutione et opere. Mea culpa. Ideo precor te virgo Maria, et vos omnes Sancti, et vos fratres orare pro me'.

'Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus: et dimissis omnibus peccatis tuis perducatur te ad vitam æternam. Amen'.

'Indulgentiam, absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum et gratiam sancti Spiritus tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus'.

Post confessionem ante altare: 'Aufer a nobis, quaesumus Domine, cunctas iniquitates nostras, ut mereamur puris mentibus introire ad sancta sanctorum. Amen'.

Benedictio super diaconum: 'Dominus sit in corde et in ore tuo: ut digne annuncies evangelium Christi'.

Benedictio incensi: 'Ab eo benedicatur, in cujus honore crematur. Amen'.

Dum ponitur aqua in calice: 'Fiat hæc commixtio vini et aquæ pariter, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, de cujus latere exivit sanguis et aqua'.

Dum offertur hostia et calix: 'Panem caelestem ✠ et calicem ✠ salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo'.

Cum calix coopertus fuerit: 'Veni invisibilis sanctificator: sanctifica hoc sacrificium tibi præparatum'.

Statim sacerdos inclinans se, dicit: 'Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper virginis, et sancti Joannis Baptistæ, et omnium caelestium virtutum, et omnium Sanctorum qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi: et illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem et ut illi omnes pro nobis et pro cunctis fidelibus vivis et defunctis orare dignentur in caelis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris. Qui vivis et regnas'.

Deprecatio Sacerdotis ad populum: 'Orate fratres pro me peccatore: ut meum pariter et vestrum in conspectu Domini acceptum sit sacrificium'.

Responsio populi: 'Dominus sit in corde et in ore tuo: suscipiatque Dominus Deus de manibus tuis sacrificium istud: et orationes tuæ ascendant in memoriam ante Deum pro nostra et totius populi salute'.

'GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.'

Gloria in excelsis in festis B.M.V.: 'Gloria in excelsis Deo . . . fili unigenite Jesu Christe. Spiritus et alme orphanorum paraclete. Domine Deus agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Primogenitus Mariæ virginis matris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata, mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram, ad Mariæ gloriam. Qui sedes ad

dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, Maria sanctificans. Tu solus Dominus, Maria gubernans. Tu solus altissimus, Maria coronans Jesu Christe. Cum sancto spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen'.

'CREDO IN UNUM DEUM.'

Oratio ante communionem: 'Veni Domine Jesu Christe: veni cui ego miser peccavi: veni, et obliviscere peccatum meum, pro quo effudisti sanguinem tuum: veni Jesu dulcissime, et da mihi cibum salutis aeternae: veni infirmorum medicus, veni jejunantium cibum: veni et visita domum istam nomini tuo dedicatam: veni dilecte mi: teneam te, et in aeternum ne dimittas me: veni gaudium spiritus mei, veni laetitia cordis mei, veni exultatio et gloria mea: ut delectetur in te anima mea. Ecce pie Jesu ad te venio, in quem spero, quem toto corde desidero, quem tota mentis intentione aspicio, quem totis visceribus amplector, cujus corpus et sanguinem suscipere cupio: et ultra in me maneat, et usque in aeternum me non dimittas. Amen'.

'SURSUM CORDA', ETC.

PREFATIONES

Canon

'*Communicantes*': (Hic levet manus in altum).

'*Unde et memores*': (Deinde extendit brachia in modum crucis).

'*Supplices te rogamus*': (Profunde inclinatus cancellatis manibus).

'*Omnis honor et gloria*': (Hic tangat calicem cum oblata et mutet vocem. Nec reponat hostiam super corporale, sed teneat eam super calicem quousque pervenerit ad Panem nostrum, et tunc ostendat manu extensa, et elevata supra latus dextrum, magna cum reverentia, more matricis Ecclesiae Praemonstratensis, ut adoretur Christus oblatus in hoc augustissimo sacramento pro omnibus).

Post orationem dominicam: (Hic elevet patenam dicens sub silentio: 'Libera nos').

Commixtio: 'Haec sacrosancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fiat mihi et omnibus sumentibus, salus mentis et corporis: et ad vitam capessendam aeternam, praeparatio salutaris'.

'*Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis*', etc.¹

'*Habete vinculum pacis* charitatis et pacis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis Dei. Amen.'²

Deacon receives the *kiss of peace*, as he says: 'Pax tibi pater, et sanctae Ecclesiae.' The subdeacon receives the pax, and passes it on

¹ The prayer is not omitted in Masses for the dead.

² Omitted in Masses for the dead.

to the *novitium ministrum*, who in his turn gives it to the abbot and the community, as he says: 'Pax tibi frater, Christus enim pax nostra offertur Deo in reconciliationem nostram: Et ideo nos invicem reconciliatos esse oportet, ut haec hostia oblata sit nobis propitia' (non ascendet autem Novitius gradus superiores, sed manebit in subsellis inferioribus).

Ante perceptionem: 'Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti: libera me per hoc sacrum Corpus et Sanguinem tuum, a cunctis iniquitatibus, et universis malis: et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis, et a te nunquam in perpetuum permittas separari. Qui vivis'.

Post perceptionem: 'Perceptio Corporis, Domine Jesu Christe, quod ego indignus sumere praesum, non mihi proveniat in iudicium et condemnationem: sed pro tua pietate prosit mihi ad tutamentum mentis et corporis, et ad medelam percipiendam. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre. Per omnia saecula saeculorum.' (The priest takes both parts of the Host in his left hand, and, striking his breast, says: '*Domine non sum dignus*, etc.' (once). (Signing himself, he says): '*Corpus Domini nostri* Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen.' (He uncovers the chalice, and says): '*Quid retribuam* Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domino invocabo. Laudans invocabo Dominum, et ab inimicis meis salvus ero.' (He takes the chalice, signs himself, and says) '*Sanguis Domini nostri* Jesu Christi, custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen.' (He receives the chalice, and says): '*Quod ore sumpsimus* Domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.' (The priest extends the chalice to the minister, who pours in a small quantity of wine and water, and then says): '*Corpus tuum Domine quod sumpsi*, et Sanguis quem potavi, adhaereat visceribus meis: et praesta; ut in me non remaneat ulla scelerum macula, quem tam pura et sancta refecerunt sacramenta. Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

'*Ite missa est*'; '*Benedicamus Domino*'; or '*Requiescant in pace*'.

'*Placeat*'.

'*In principio*' (if it has been said already in the Mass, the gospel: '*Missus est Gabriel*' from feria IV quatuor temporum Adventus). *Gratiarum actio*: Ant. 'Trium puerorum, Benedicite', etc.

The appendix of the missal gives eight proses of the Blessed Virgin,¹ in addition to proper proses for the common of 'all saints', 'martyrs' and 'confessors'.

¹ Fo. 48v-49v.

Procession to the Baptistery in Easter Vespers

The procession followed an old Roman tradition, which seems to have been introduced north of the Alps in the time of Charlemagne (*ob.* 814). Some 17th-century writers have seen Greek influence in the ceremony, since *Kyrie eleison* is sung, alleging that the Carmelites, who at the beginning of the 13th century had adopted the rite of Jerusalem, introduced the usage into France. There can be no doubt, however, that the Premonstratensians, Carmelites and others adopted the procession from contemporary French practice, which in its turn was derived from Rome. It was indeed from France that the 12th-century canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, had received, not only the solemn *Kyrie* for the vespers of Easter Sunday and the three following days,¹ but also their entire rite.

On the other hand there seems little doubt that the ceremony originated in 4th-century Jerusalem, where the Spanish pilgrim Etheria tells us that there was a solemn station *ad crucem*, that is a procession to the site of the crucifixion, every day after vespers.² A similar ceremony took place in the ancient churches of Georgia, where elaborate crosses were set up for the purpose.

In the West, a station *ad crucem*, in imitation of the practice in Jerusalem, was introduced between the 9th and 11th centuries on certain great feasts by the Benedictines of St. Gall.³ Elsewhere the baptistery came to be substituted for Golgotha, and at Milan there was a ceremony of chants and prayers, analogous to that at Jerusalem, at which every day after vespers and matins all assisted *ad baptisterium*.

A similar rite followed vespers at Rome, and the ancient sacramentaries for certain days provide special prayers *ad fontes*. Thus the Sacramentary of Padua, the most ancient official witness of urban tradition that we know, prescribes the ceremony for the feast of St. John the Evangelist, all Easter Week and the feast of St. John Baptist.⁴ The Octave of Easter had a solemnity all its own, which has been described in the appendix to *Ordo Romanus I: Die sancto Paschae conveniente schola temporius cum episcopis et diaconibus ad sanctum Joannem in ecclesia majore ad locum Crucifixi, incipiunt Kyrie eleison, et veniunt usque ad altare: ascendentibus diaconibus in pogium, episcopi et presbyteri statuuntur in locis suis, et schola ante altare. Finito Kyrie*

¹ Ms. Barberini 659, fols. 76r-77r. Library of the Vatican.

² *Itinerarium Aetheriae*, XXIV, 7-11, edit. Hélène Pétré (Paris, 1948), pp. 192-7.

³ Christmas and the three following days, Palm Sunday, Ascension and Pentecost after matins, and once a year (28 December) after vespers.

⁴ Edit. Mohlberg, pp. 4, 26-8, 42.

*leison, innuit archidiaconus primo scholae, et ille inclinans se illi, incipiat Alleluia cum Psalmo, Dixit Dominus Domino meo.*¹

It appears also in *De divinis officiis*, a document once ascribed to Alcuin (ob. 804), and now considered to date from the early years of the 10th century.²

The Jerusalem influence is discernible in the Greek canticles sung *ad locum crucifixi*.

A similar substitution of the baptistery for Calvary is found in a prayer on a liturgical roll of the 10th century preserved in the library of the monastery of Mount Sinai: λεγομένη ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ βαπτιστηρίῳ μετὰ τὸ πέρας τοῦ λυχνικοῦ. In the rite of Naples, as codified by John Orsini in 1337, vespers on Easter Sunday in the cathedral church was continued till after the antiphon *Haec dies*, when all went in procession to the church of St. Mary Major, where the office was concluded.³

The Carmelites of the Ancient Observance still begin vespers on Easter Sunday and the two following days with a ninefold *Kyrie*, but the Dominicans discontinued the traditional form of Easter vespers in the 17th century. The *ordinale* of the Gilbertine rite prescribed a procession to the font during vespers on Easter Sunday and the five following days.⁴

The Utrecht breviary of 1508, which seems to have borrowed many customs and usages from the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, includes the solemn *Kyrie* and procession to the font on Easter Day.⁵ This rite of Jerusalem may well have been similar in character to that of the White canons, who were the first Western religious to establish a foundation in the Holy Land.⁶

Lyons, in spite of its reputation for fidelity to tradition, discontinued the ancient Roman form of Easter vespers so recently as 1914.⁷ Braga, however, has retained the procession to the font at the conclusion of vespers on Easter Sunday and the days within the octave, till Friday inclusive.⁸ In 1857 Cardinal Mathieu, archbishop of Besançon made the following reference to the old custom in a pastoral letter to his clergy:

¹ Hittorp, op. cit. (Paris, 1610), col. 87; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 965.

² Hittorp, op. cit., col. 261.

³ Domenico Mallardo, *La Pasqua e la Settimana Maggiore a Napoli*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXVI (1952), fasc. I, p. 35.

⁴ *The Gilbertine Rite*, edit. R. M. Woolley, vol. I (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. LIX, 1921), p. 44.

⁵ The Utrecht missal of 1540 included some of the feasts in the calendar of the rite of Jerusalem, with votive Masses of the Holy Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; St. Heliseus; St. Job; St. Daniel; and St. Simeon the Just.

⁶ The *us* of the Premonstratensians was adopted by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

⁷ Denys Buennner, *Le Rite Lyonnais* (Lyons, 1934), part II, chap. II, pp. 176-7.

⁸ *Breviarium Bracarense*, pars verna (Rome, 1921), pp. 627-9.

*Persingulare est in ecclesia Bisuntina quod in die sancto Paschae, secundae vesperae non incipiant consueto modo per verba Deus in adiutorium, sed per Kyrie eleison, repetitum ut in missa. Hoc autem omnino astruit vetustatem bisuntini ritus. . . .*¹ Today in Normandy, at least two dioceses have retained the old usage. Rouen on Easter Sunday and Monday has a procession to the font during vespers (no *Kyrie eleison*);² while a somewhat similar function, although different as to details, takes place at Bayeux on Easter Sunday and the two following days.³

¹ P. A. Pidoux, *Notes sur d'anciens usages liturgiques des diocèses de Besançon et de Saint-Cloud* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1904), pp. 3 *seq.*

² *Livre d'Offices à l'Usage de l'Archidiocèse de Rouen* (Tours, 1918), pp. 592-7, 604.

³ *Supplementum (Breviarium) pro Insigni Ecclesia Bajocensi*, pp. 8-9, 1900.

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